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MATERNAL INFLUENCE ON THE FATHER-ABSENT CHILD: CHILDREARING PRACTICES AND ADJUSTMENT ASSOCIATED WITH TWO PATTERNS OF CHILD BEHAVIOR

by

Ⓒ MARY ELLEN KENDALL

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Maternal Influence on the Father-Absent Child: Childrearing Practices and Adjustment Associated with Two Patterns of Child Behavior submitted by Mary Ellen Kendall in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study was to investigate an hypothesized relationship between maternal child-rearing practices and levels of maternal adjustment associated with two patterns of behavior demonstrated by father-absent preschool children. The sample was controlled for cause and duration of father-absence, socio-economic status prior to father-absence, and absence of older siblings.

Pattern A children were self-controlled, self-reliant and explorative, and related well with their peers. Pattern B children, in contrast, lacked self-control and self-reliance, tended to avoid novel and challenging experiences, and generally had poor peer relationships.

It was hypothesized that mothers of Pattern A children would have significantly higher scores than mothers of Pattern B children on four dimensions of child-rearing practices (maturity demands, nurturance, control, and communication) and on five variables defining adjustment to single-parenthood (self-esteem, social contact, practical adjustment [time, energy, finances], perception of child's adjustment, and attitude toward men).

The research method utilized involved observation in natural settings, data being obtained on mothers and children independently. Child behavior was assessed along five dimensions of behavior (self-control, approach-avoidance tendency, self-reliance, subjective mood, and peer affiliation) observed in the nursery school setting. Maternal behavior was assessed along the four dimensions of childrearing practices with an objective measure used in the home setting. Maternal adjustment was assessed by using an interview schedule.

The results supported the major hypothesis and found mothers of Pattern A children to have statistically significant higher scores on the behavior dimensions of maturity demands, nurturance, and communication, and on the adjustment variables of self-esteem, social contact, perception of child's adjustment, and attitude toward men. Hypotheses related to the significance of the behavior dimension control and the adjustment variable practical adjustment were not supported.

It was concluded that, while the findings must be considered tentative, they provide a basis for recognizing certain maternal factors which may condition the impact of father-absence so strongly as to overshadow its predictive value as a single variable.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This investigation was focused on the nature of the mother-child relationship in the father-absent family and some of the salient factors which may affect this relationship. It represents an attempt to study systematically the childrearing practices and levels of maternal adjustment associated with instrumental competence in the father-absent preschool child. In order to do this a group of father-absent preschool children were identified who were self-reliant, self-controlled, explorative and content (Pattern A). The childrearing practices and adjustment of their mothers were contrasted with those of mothers of father-absent children who were identified as withdrawn and discontent or lacking in self-reliance and self-control (Pattern B).

The original aim of the study was to examine the influence of paternal deprivation on the psychosocial development of the child. This subject has received, in recent years particularly, a great deal of attention in the literature pertaining to child development--with the emphasis primarily on the negative effects that accrue from the absence of the father. The findings include a lengthy array of characteristics associated with paternal deprivation, most of them related to the child's psychosocial functioning: aggression, anxiety, dependency, lack of impulse control, low self-esteem, poor peer relationships, anti-social behavior, and low achievement-related performance.

It has been suggested that it is the father who is the primary agent in the child's development of such instrumental behaviors as impulse control, self-reliance, task orientation, and the tendency to explore rather than avoid challenging and novel stimuli (e.g., Biller, 1968; Bronfenbrenner, 1960; Heilbrun *et al*, 1967; Mussen and Distler, 1959; Nash, 1965; Parsons, 1955; Radin, 1971; Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959; Tari, 1971). These are the behaviors generally reported as lacking in father-absent children, with the reason usually assumed to be the absence of the paternal model and encouragement for these behaviors:

> It is the father who, in his specific position as the nuclear family's primary provider and its Parsonean "instrumental leader" posesses these qualities, can translocate them to his offsprings via the processes of father-child interaction.
>
> (Tari, 1971, p. 3)

However, the literature concerning paternal deprivation contains a sufficient number of inconsistent findings to warrant the conclusion that for none of the adverse characteristics reportedly found among father-absent children has the evidence firmly established a relationship with father-absence as the central and controlling variable.

Recent research has included consideration of such factors as the type of father-absence (whether because of death, divorce, or desertion), the age of the child at separation from the father, the length of the child's separation from the father, and the sex of the child. Taken as a whole, the findings have provided a firm basis for recognizing some of the interacting factors that condition the impact of father absence on the child. However, as in preceding studies, the results have been neither consistent nor conclusive. Few of the reports, for example, presented data clearly relating reported effects of father-absence to age of the child at separation. Those that did so tended on the whole to report that the younger the child at the time of separation, the greater were the adverse effects. However, scattered findings revealed a greater incidence of adverse effects when the child was over six; and, several pointed to the possibility that the length of absence rather than age at separation was the important factor. Among studies addressed to the question of whether boys are more severely affected than girls, the evidence has also been divided. In sum, the literature concerning paternal deprivation has within it sufficient evidence not only to challenge generalizations about the effects of father-absence but also to strongly suggest that important conditioning factors have been neglected.

Among the most important of these must be the influence of the mother. Any child's life involves a relationship to the mother, or other adult, who structures much of the environment of the child (Schmidt, 1973). Although the role of the mother has come to be accepted as an axiom in the field of child development, maternal influence has received little attention in the literature concerning paternal deprivation.

If one begins with the assumption that the family is the medium through which the meaning of the external world is communicated to the child (Hess and Handel, 1967), the role of the mother becomes of paramount important to the experience of the father-absent child. In addition, on the basis of small group theory, the mother-child relationship in the father-absent family would be expected to take on greater salience than it would where both mother and father were participants in interaction with the child and each other (Glasser and Navarre, 1965). The research related to these theoretical viewpoints suggests a need to view father-absence in the perspective of the interaction of remaining family members, rather than as a discrete variable in itself.

There also exists a body of literature indicating that not only the condition of father absence, but the mother's adaptation to this condition, must have consequences for her relationship to the child. This is the literature on the single-parent mother--her attitudes, perceptions, and problems in coping with the rearing of children in a fatherless family. This literature, though small and relatively unsystematic, contains strong consistency in its findings concerning the complex psychological, social, and economic factors impinging on the mother's relationship to her child. Herzog and Sudia (1971) described her role thus:

> By definition, it is a role that must be enacted without the psychological and physical support of a parent partner to help with household responsibilities, family decision, and that all child rearing involves. For many, it includes reduction in income, social status and social activities, posing a struggle against resentment, isolation and self-doubt.
>
> (p. 66)

Studies of single-parent mothers also suggest that the absence of the father is not the critical variable but that in the absence of the father, the mother's influence would far outweigh any detectible impact of father-absence per se.

Taken as a whole, these several areas of theory and research emphasize that it is as necessary as it is difficult to differentiate the effects of father-absence from the effects of the mother's presence in the father-absent family--including her behavior, her current circumstances, and her adaptation to those circumstances. While a few researchers have speculated about the mother-child relationship that results from father-absence, none have included observation of this process.

On the basis of this rationale, the present study was focused on the relationship between the level of adaptive behavior demonstrated by the father-absent child and the child-rearing behavior and level of personal adjustment of the mother. The dimensions of child behavior identified were those which define instrumental competence. Instrumental competence includes such behaviors as impulse control and ability to delay gratification, task orientation, self-reliance, and the tendency toward exploration rather than avoidance of novel stimuli. The childrearing practices and personal adjustment of the mothers of a group of instrumentally competent father-absent children was compared with that of a group of mothers who had children demonstrating the dysfunctional behavior previously reported to be associated with father-absence.

The purpose of the study was an attempt to find some answers to the following questions:

1. Are there differences in the childrearing practices of these two groups of mothers which could account for the observable differences in the behavior of their children?

2. Are there differences in the adjustment these mothers have made to their current circumstances which could account for any differences in their childrearing practices?

It was believed that answers to these questions would indicate whether the problem of paternal deprivation should be reformulated to focus on the circumstances and coping ability of the remaining parent.

The study was focused on the actual behaviors of the children and their mothers in the natural contexts in which they live. Significant differences between the childrearing practices and levels of adjustment of these two groups of mothers was considered to be an indication: (1) that individual differences in maternal characteristics may be significantly related to the personality development of father-absent children (a relationship that has long been assumed to exist in father-present families); and, (2) that father-absent families are heterogeneous in their functioning and should be studied as a family form rather than a deviant version of the two-parent family.

In sum, positive answers to the questions posed above would indicate that studies of the functioning of father-absent families would be considerably more fruitful in determining the effects of father-absence on the personality development of the child than would a continuation of investigations based upon the assumption that paternal deprivation is itself the central and controlling variable.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Overview

Psychologists concerned with the detrimental effects of paternal deprivation generally believe that, as the father is one of the two major socializing agents for the child, his absence must create a significant gap in the child's experience. From a theoretical perspective, it has been suggested that the father's role is significant in two respects. The psychoanalytic view holds that the child--at least the male child--acquires from the father his sex-role identification and, consequently, sufficiently masculine behavior necessary for appropriate adjustment (Freud, 1933; Bronfenbrenner, 1960). The father is viewed as offering the boy a model of male competence. The relationship of this process to various areas of development is hypothesized as centering on the adequacy of the model.

The Parsonian perspective incorporates psychoanalytic theory into a theory of socialization which emphasizes the child's participation in the family as a social system, and the social system as part of the socialization process. The Parsonian view holds that the father's role is primarily instrumental-adaptive (Parsons and Bales, 1955). According to this view, the father brings the larger society's normative standards into the home and, through interaction with the child, provides him with instrumental skills and the ability to adapt to the environment. From this perspective, the father is seen as "a bridge to the vast world outside" (Meerlo, 1968, p. 102), the one who endows the child with realism and competence, as opposed to the mother's nurturant, protective role (Van Mannen, 1968).

The absence of the father is thereby concluded to mean for the child absence of both the model and the encouragement for the development of skills which permit him to adapt to and master the environment. This assumption appears to be implicit in much of the research on paternal deprivation. In turn, the findings of the research tend to support the assumption: various aspects of a child's behavior, particularly those related to instrumental competence, have been reported to be adversely affected by the absence of the father.

There is a major weakness in the conclusion, however, because much of the research has neglected other influential elements in the child's experience. The typical study of father-absence has involved two levels--the father's absence and a child outcome measure. Very few of the many variables in between--remaining family roles and interaction, maternal attitudes and adjustment, social and economic conditions--have been considered in the formulation of conclusions concerning the impact of father-absence on the child. Evidence has emerged, however, to indicate that certain familial and environmental factors may become especially influential when the father is absent. Though there have been no systematic investigations of childrearing practices in father-absent families, there is evidence which suggests that the mother's influence on the father-absent child may be responsible for many of the adverse effects related to father-absence. Studies of the problems of husbandless mothers suggest that both the objective circumstances of the father-absent family and the mother's perception of these circumstances have serious consequences for the functioning of the mother in terms of her behavior toward the child and her potency as a model of competence for the child.

In this chapter these factors are examined as they relate to behavior characteristics of the child generally reported to be adversely affected by father-absence. The behavior characteristics in question are those associated with instrumental competence, that is, those instrumental dimensions of behavior which allow the child to be competent in his world. The definition of instrumental competence and the dimensions of behavior through which it is manifest are presented in the first section.

The group of studies reviewed in the following sections is limited for the most part to those which focus on these dimensions of behavior. The evidence concerning other aspects of development--in particular, gender identity--offered no firm basis for concluding that detrimental consequences were associated with father-absence. It was found to be so fragmentary and ambiguous that it would be difficult even to achieve a critical perspective on the findings.

Section two contains a review of the research reporting the adverse effects of father-absence on the dimensions of behavior described in section one. The evidence primarily concerns the effects of *continuing* father-absence. Two exceptions are the Norwegian father-absent studies by Lynn and Sawrey (1959) and Tiller (1957), which are actually studies of temporary father-absence. They are included in this review because they were careful studies; they also involved frequent, extended absence (two years or more, with the father present only three to six months at a time), and they have been the foundation for numerous subsequent investigations.

In the third section, evidence concerning maternal influence on the father-absent child is examined. This evidence is drawn from two bodies of research. The first of these consists of the research relating parental childrearing practices to the instrumental behavior of the child. This research includes studies which have been focused directly on the father-child relationship, pointing to particular parental influences that may be missing in the father-absent home. The second body of research consists of studies focused on the circumstances of the father-absent family and the perceptions and problems of the mother in coping with her situation of husbandlessness. The findings of this body of research shed considerable light on the context of the father-absent family, indicating ways in which the mother's adjustment to circumstances of her family may influence her childrearing behavior.

The fourth and concluding section of this chapter contains the summary of research findings regarding maternal childrearing practices and adjustment and conclusions concerning the relevance of these factors to the instrumental behavior of the father-absent child. Hypotheses are then postulated for the relationship of specific dimensions of maternal behavior and problems of adjustment to instrumental behavior in the father-absent child.

Definition and Behavioral Indicators of Instrumental Competence

Observable differences among children in responsibility, sociability, achievement and self-reliance, the ability to trust others and enter into relationships of cooperation or undestructive competition, and positive relations to authority figures presents a model of competence defined by the middle class in North American society as being the qualities maximally adaptive in this society. Skill and competence develop, as Bruner (1970) has observed, by small daily accretions of experience from infancy throughout childhood. Such skills lead to new mastery, and this in turn encourages the development of other skills that generate a general sense of competence. Phillips (1968) discusses competence as a broadened definition of "adaptation" which includes both the ability to accept and respond effectively to societal expectations and the ability to impose one's own direction on the course of events.

Baumrind (1970) has defined instrumental competence in young children as behavior which is both socially responsible and independent, reflecting the dual nature of competence as defined by Phillips. In her studies of children in nursery school settings, Baumrind found five dimensions of child behavior to successfully discriminate instrumentally competent behavior from dysfunctional behavior in young children: self-control; approach-avoidance tendency; self-reliance; subjective mood and peer affiliation (Baumrind, 1967; Baumrind and Black, 1967). From these studies, she identified the following behavioral referents to instrumental competence:

> Responsible vs. Irresponsible
>
> 1. Achievement-oriented vs. not achievement oriented: willingness to persevere when frustration is encountered, to set one's own goals high, and to meet the demands of others in a cognitive situation versus withdrawal when faced with frustration and unwillingness to cooperate with adults in a teaching situation.
>
> 2. Friendly vs. hostile behavior towards peers: nurturant, kind, altruistic behavior displayed toward peers vs. bullying, insulting, selfish behavior.

> 3. Cooperative vs. resistive behavior towards adults: trustworthy, responsible, facilitative behavior vs. devious, impetuous, obstructive actions.
>
> Independent versus Suggestible
>
> 1. Domineering vs. tractable behavior; bold, assertive, demanding behavior vs. timid, nonintrusive, undemanding behavior.
> 2. Dominant vs. submissive behavior: individual initiative and leadership in contrast to suggestible, following behavior.
> 3. Purposive vs. aimless behavior: confident, self-propelled activity vs. disoriented, normative, goalless behavior.
>
> (p. 13)

Competence is generally viewed as an essential component of self-esteem. Coopersmith (1967) in an extensive and detailed study of the nature and sources of self-esteem in middle class boys 10 to 12 years of age, found that those high in self-esteem set high goals for themselves, participated more vigorously in discussions and were more likely to disagree with others and express independent opinions than were either the compliant and conformist or the withdrawn and anxious boys. Di Lorenzo *et al.* (1969) listed fifteen areas of preschool classroom behavior that describe a positive self-concept, including cooperative behavior with peers and adults, curiosity and welcoming rather than withdrawing from new situations and materials. Ainsworth and Bell (1973) emphasized social competence--"the ability of the person to elicit the cooperation of others"--as the one dimension of competence that fosters a general "sense of competence" [in White's (1959) terms] that "influences the development of increased competence in other realms, whether viewed in age-relevant or in absolute terms" (p. 89).

Inkeles (1966) discusses the relevance of motivation to the development of competence and points to the importance of looking at competence in the context of the sociocultural system. In the context of our modern industrial society, he says,

> we might expect the need for achievement to be more adaptive than the need for affiliation, the need for autonomy more productive than the need for dependence, at least for those competing for middle class positions.
>
> (p. 276)

Studies of the adult population of the United States indicate that there is some such pattern in the distribution of motives (Veroff *et al.*, 1960), and studies of child-rearing in the different class and ethnic groups suggest that these adult differences most likely rest on differences in socialization practices (Rosen, 1956; Strodtbeck, 1958; Miller and Swanson, 1960).

While the study of competence versus incompetence in young children has not yet been able to predict future effectiveness in adulthood, Phillips (1968) takes the view that knowing how well the person meets the expectations set by society for individuals of his age and sex group is the best key we have to the prediction of future effectiveness. This view appears to be implicit in most research on competence in childhood in providing age-related indices of competence.

The Impact of Father-Absence on the Development of Instrumental Competence

Whether focused on the social, emotional or cognitive differences between father-absent children and father-present children, research on paternal deprivation has led to the conclusion that, generally, father-absent children are not as well developed in these areas as are their father-present counterparts. The findings of some of the earlier studies by Bach (1946), Sears, Pintler and Sears (1946), Tiller (1957), and Lynn and Sawrey (1959) indicated that the male child's development is particularly influenced by the absence of the father, although Lynn and Sawrey (1959) found that the father's absence appears to have a detrimental effect on the female child's development as well.

The particular manifestation of detrimental effects on child behavior has shown somewhat inconsistent findings in the literature, however. There has been found among father-absent boys, as compared with father-present boys, a tendency to show either greater dependency and passivity (Biller and Bahm, 1971; Carlsmith, 1964; Hetherington, 1966; Leichty, 1969; Nelson and Maccoby, 1966; Santrock, 1970a) or greater aggression (Sears, *et al.*, 1946, Santrock and Wohlford, 1970, Wohlford *et al.*, 1970). McCord, McCord and Thurber (1962) also found that the combination of these two variables was more evident in this group than among father-present boys; however, they failed to find a significantly higher incidence of passivity or aggression among father-absent boys when either variable was isolated. Other studies have failed to find a significant relationship between either of these variables and father-absence (Biller, 1968a; Greenstein, 1966).

A similar phenomenon has been found among studies of father-absent girls. While Lynn and Sawrey (1959) and Tiller (1957) found dependency to be a characteristic that manifested itself early in father-absent girls, Thomas (1968) found father-absent girls less able to control aggression than their father-present counterparts. Santrock (1970a), in comparison, found no significant differences between father-absent and father-present girls on measures of either dependency or aggression.

The inconsistency of these findings may be due to the questionable usefulness of some of the measures used (masculinity-femininity scales, mother's reports of child behavior, projective tests). Many of these measures have been challenged on points of content and interpretation (Pollack, 1967; Vincent, 1966). There are also serious questions about the assumptions underlying the use of these tests. For example, doubt about their usefulness as a basis for generalizations concerning fatherless children are supported by findings which show that typically the masculinity-femininity scores of more highly educated male and female subjects are closer together than are those with less education (Maccoby, 1966). In addition, a considerable overlap has been found to exist in the scores of father-absent and father-present children (Herzog and Sudia, 1971), indicating that the fact of father-absence per se may not be the crucial variable, but that other familial factors may have considerable influence on these elements of the child's behavior. In support of this view, Wohlford *et al.* (1970) found that the presence of older brothers in the home had a modifying effect on the scores of father-absent children on measures of aggression; and, Santrock and Wohlford (1970) found that both the type of father-absence (i.e., whether due to divorce, separation, or death) and the age of the child at father-absence were also related to children's acores on measures of aggression.

Father-absence has been found to relate more consistently to the child's ability to delay gratification and to control the impulse to act. Mischel (1961) found that a larger propoertion of 8- and 9-year-old children from father-absent homes preferred immediate to delayed reward relative to children their age from father-present homes. This relationship between father-absence and inability to delay gratification has been supported for male children in studies by Santrock and Wohlford (1970) and Wohlford *et al.* (1970), and for female children in a study by Thomas (1968); Lavison (1970) also reported that father-absence was associated with lack of self-control (defined in the study as "resistance to temptation") among lower income, Negro preschool children. In the Santrock and Wohlford (1970) study, age at father separation and type of father-absence were found to affect the impact of father-absence on the child. More of the boys separated from the father by divorce chose the smaller, immediate reward over the greater, delayed reward than boys separated by death; and, compared with the boys who were father separated between the ages of three and five, more boys who were father-absent by age two or between the ages of six and nine preferred the immediate reward.

Paternal deprivation has also been shown to interfere with the development of successful peer relations. Stolz *et al.'s* (1954) observations, as well as mothers' and fathers' reports, indicated that four-to-eight-year-old children who had been father-absent for the first few years of life had poorer peer relationships than children who had not been father-absent. Lynn and Sawrey (1959) also found poor peer adjustment among the father-absent children in their study. Hetherington (1966) found that boys whose fathers were absent at age four or earlier spent more time in noncompetitive, nonphysical activities, and played fewer physical games, as compared with father-present and later (after age six) father-absent boys. Other investigators have generally supported the hypothesis that a positive father-son relationship gives the boy a basis for successful peer interactions (Rutherford and Mussen, 1968; Leiderman, 1953; Cox, 1968).

Researchers have also demonstrated that the father-absent child performs poorly in comparison with the father-present child on achievement-related measures (Blanchard and Biller, 1971; Deutsch, 1960; Deutsch and Brown, 1964; Landy, Rosenberg, and Sutten-Smith, 1969; Santrock, 1972; Sutherland, 1930; Sutton-Smith, Rosenberg, and Landy, 1968). The Sutton-Smith *et al.* (1968) study, designed to evaluate the effect of the age at which father-absence occurred, found that the father's absence during the child's early (0-4) and middle (5-9) period of development produced the most negative results. The authors also indicated that the presence or absence of siblings modified the effects of father-absence: boys without brothers were more affected than those with brothers; girls with a younger brother were more affected than other girls; and, only girls were more affected than only boys. Santrock (1972) studied the effects of type of father-absence, as well as the child's age at onset, and his findings provide some qualification for the Sutton-Smith *et al.* findings. Santrock reported that father-absence due to divorce, desertion, or separation did have the most negative influence for both boys and girls during the early years of the child's life; however, father-absence due to death appeared to be the most detrimental for boys--though not for girls--when it occurred in the six-nine year period.

Summary

Research on the relationship between father-absence and aspects of instrumental competence in children has generally found father absence, compared with father-presence, to result in either greater aggression or greater dependency and passivity; lower self-control and ability to delay gratification; poor peer relations; and lower achievement motivation. Generally, it has also been found that the younger the child at father-absence, the more detrimental are the effects on the child; that father-absence due to divorce or separation has more adverse consequences than father-absence because of death; and, that the presence of siblings in the home may modify the effects of father-absence.

Most of these generalizations, however, are qualified by the presence of some inconsistent findings in the literature. They are also limited by the variables left unexplored. Many of the research studies have been focused on the single variable of father-absence; of the modifying variables mentioned above, only two have been included in any single study.

The confounding effects of other familial, social, and economic factors on the child's development have not been carefully sorted from father-absence per se. Though it has been suggested that the mother's behavior, her attitudes with regard to the father as well as to her child, and her adjustment to the family's current circumstances may be associated with outcome measures on the child (Tiller, 1957; Biller, 1969), few investigations of the impact of these variables on the father-absent child have been undertaken. Those which have are focused only on one or another specific element of maternal influence, severely limiting any conclusion which might be drawn. In the following section these fragments of evidence are examined in relationship to two other bodies of research which provide a context for the findings.

The Impact of the Mother on the Development of Instrumental Competence

The role of the mother has come to be recognized as a critical factor in the study of child development. Most studies of father-absent children, however, appear to have been based upon the assumption that the influence of the mother remains constant when the father leaves the family. In this section, a number of investigations are reviewed which challenge that assumption.

Childrearing Practices

In studies by Baumrind (1967) and Baumrind and Black (1967) it was found that parents of the most realistic, competent, and content children scored significantly higher on the parent behavior dimensions of maturity demands, nurturance, control, and communication than did parents of children who were either dysphoric and distrustful or immature and insecure. The parents of the competent children were

> markedly consistent, loving, conscientious, and secure in handling their children. They respected the child's independent decisions but demonstrated a remarkable ability to hold a position once they took a stand. They tended to accompany a directive with a reason.
>
> (p. 80)

The parents of dysphoric children were firm but non-nurturant. Essentially, they relied on power punishment and unilateral demands. The parents of the third group, the immature and dependent, seemed to be unsure of themselves, demanded little of their children, were lax and at times indulgent, and were less intensively involved with their children.

These findings are nearly identical to those reported by Coopersmith (1967) in his extensive and detailed study of the nature of sources of self-esteem in preadolescent boys. Parents of children with high self-esteem were found to set firm limits in an atmosphere of warmth, concern, and mutual respect. The parents were open to the child's opinions, ruled by reward rather than by punishment, provided clear guidance and well-defined codes of conduct. Parents of children low in self-esteem were inconsistent, alternating between extreme permissiveness and harsh punishment.

Whether this relationship between parent behavior dimensions and child behavior is generalizable to the father-absent family, or whether the social context of the father-absent family is such as to influence the effects of a given pattern of childrearing variables is a question not addressed in previous studies in this area. Research has indicated, however, that the detrimental effects of father-absence on the child may be associated with patterns of maternal behavior similar to those found by Baumrind for dysphoric and immature children and by Coopersmith for children low in self-esteem. The relationship between maternal childrearing practices and child behavior in the father-absent family is discussed in terms of the four parental behavior dimensions outlined by Baumrind (1967): maturity demands, nurturance, control, and communication.

Maturity demands. Maturity demands incorporate the elements of independence-training and independence-granting: training the child to do things "by himself" (self-reliance); and "training and permitting the child to exercise a certain amount of freedom of action in decision-making" (autonomy) (Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959). Maturity demands, as one dimension of parent behavior related to instrumental behavior in the child, have generally not been found in the few investigations of maternal childrearing practices in father-absent families. Tiller (1957) found the mothers of father-absent children in his study to be more overprotective and more concerned with obedience (rather than self-realization) than were the mothers of father-present children. Other early investigations had also indicated that maternal overprotection appeared to be a concomitant of paternal absence (Stendler, 1954; Stolz *et al.*, 1954).

A more recent study by Biller (1969), however, found an interesting phenomenon in the comparison of maternal behavior toward five-year-old father-absent and father-present boys. Like those preceding him, Biller found that mothers of father-absent boys were, as a group, less encouraging of independent and assertive behavior than were mothers of father-present boys; he interpreted this data as suggesting that

> the actively involved father discourages the mother's overprotecting tendencies and encourages independent activity, especially in boys.
> (1971b, p. 87)

However, his data also shows that the degree of maternal encouragement of independence and assertiveness had a significantly positive relationship to the scores of father-absent boys on measures of these behaviors, while *no* such relationship was found between maternal behavior and the scores of father-present boys. This finding indicates that, while independence-training may be specific to the fathering *role*, those mothers who are able to assume this aspect of the fathering role in the absence of the father ("filling in", so to speak, this gap in the father-absent child's experience) are able thereby to mitigate at least some of the adverse effects of father-absence on the child's development. In other words, the mother's behavior necessarily takes on greater salience for the father-absent child, but her influence need not be detrimental.

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It has also been found that the impact of parental maturity demands is significantly influenced by the interaction between this and other dimensions of parental behavior. In a study of the relationship between the behavior of fathers and achievement motivation in preschool children, Tari (1971) found that the interaction of independence-training and nurturance (defined as support, approval, and involvement) on the part of the father was associated with the highest levels of achievement motivation among the children. Investigating the effects of both mothers' and fathers' maturity demands on the general level of instrumental competence in preschool children, Baumrind and Black (1967) found that competent child behavior was related to parental maturity demands when they were accompanied by parental communication of reasons for their demands on the child. Conversely, it was found in a study of achievement motivation by Hatfield, Ferguson and Alpert (1967) that parental pressure and reward for independence unaccompanied by the use of reason showed no relationship with preschool boys' achievement standards and were negatively related to achievement standards of preschool girls. It thus appears that maturity demands on the part of the mother may have a significant relationship to the development of competence in father-absent children, especially if they are combined with maternal nurturance and communication.

Nurturance. Although there have been no studies of the impact of maternal nurturance on the father-absent child, there has arisen considerable evidence in the child development literature of the strong association between maternal nurturance (defined here as affection, support, approval, and involvement) and instrumental behavior in children in the areas of social development (Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Yarrow and Goodwin, 1965; Stern *et al.*, 1969; Yarrow, 1963), exploratory behavior (Antonovsky, 1959; Yarrow, 1963; Yarrow and Goodwin, 1963), and cognitive development (Bayley and Schaefer, 1964; Bing, 1963; Busse, 1969; Caldwell, 1967; Dave, 1963; Stern *et al.*, 1969; Yarrow, 1963). Conversely, the absence of the expression of warmth, or overt rejection, was found to have detrimental effects on the child's development (Baldwin *et al.*, 1945; Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Heinstein, 1963; Lewis, 1954; Milner, 1951; Spitz, 1951; Wittenborn *et al.*, 1956). Warmth in the mother-child relationship has also been related to the development of self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965) and leadership qualities (Bronfenbrenner, 1961).

One aspect of the mother's affection that appears to be particularly influential is her responsiveness, that is, that she responds immediately and contingently to the signals of her child. It has been found to be positively associated with both attachment and exploratory behavior (Ainsworth and Bell, 1973; Clarke-Stewart, 1973), general emotional development (Robertson, 1962), and cognitive development (Lewis and Goldberg, 1968).

As the child becomes older, the type of responsiveness exhibited by the mother appears to become especially important to the child's achievement-related performance. Mothers who encourage the child rather than threaten him, and who reinforce correct responses with praise rather than giving punishment for errors, tend to have children who are more persistent, are better problem-solvers, have higher reading achievement (Hess *et al.*, 1969) and are less distractible (Bee, 1967).

The relationship between parental nurturance and instrumental competence in children also has been found to be dependent on other parent factors. Baumrind and Black (1967) found nurturance to be a predictor of dimensions of instrumental competence in middle-class preschool children only when it was combined with parental control, enforced demands and consistency of discipline. Heilbrun, Harrel and Gillard (1967) found that maternal nurturance had a significant influence on achievement standards in children only when associated with high control. Hatfield, Ferguson and Alpert (1967) found no relationship between maternal warmth as a single variable and achievement standards in children. Tari (1971), as reported previously, found that paternal nurturance was associated with the highest levels of children's achievement motivation when it was combined with independence-training on the part of the father.

It thus appears that the influence of parental nurturance on children's instrumental behavior, particularly achievement-related behavior, is contingent on its interaction with elements of both maturity demands and control. Maturity demands by the mother have been suggested previously to be particularly important for the father-absent child. In the following paragraphs, the relationship between various types of parental control and children's instrumental behavior is explored.

Control. Parental control has had various definitions among studies of childrearing practices. In the present study, control refers to those acts of the parent intended to shape the child's goal-oriented activity, to modify the child's behavior, and to promote internalization of parental standards. This definition is intended to distinguish the term control from restrictiveness, punitive attitudes, or intrusiveness on the part of the parent.

The tendency to use different methods of control in childrearing appears to be related to differences between social classes (Becker, 1964). Duvall (1946) argued that one could discern two different value orientations among parents that led them to behave in different ways toward their children. She called one "traditional" and the other "developmental". Traditional values, more commonly found among working-class and lower-class parents, place emphasis on order and authority. The parent is concerned that the child be clean, obedient, and respectful.

The emphasis is on the child's behaving "properly", proper behavior being defined independently of any of the circumstances that may have brought about that behavior. In accordance with these values, lower-class parents are likely to use direct "power-oriented" techniques and restrictiveness on the child (Olim, Hess and Shipman, 1967; Bronfenbrenner, 1958; Hoffman, 1960; Bayley and Schaefer, 1964; Sears *et al.*, 1957). Developmental values, in contrast, place emphasis on the child's motives and the development of self-control. This pattern, more commonly found among middle-class parents, emphasizes "internal" qualities such as consideration, curiosity, and initiative, rather than external conformity. Parents in the middle class are likely to use more indirect "love-oriented" techniques (Bronfenbrenner, 1958), positive reinforcement (Kamii and Radin, 1967; Maccoby and Gibbs, 1954); and more often utilize reasoning and explanation to control their children (Olim *et al.*, 1967; Kamii and Radin, 1967).

The few studies into methods of control in father-absent families have been conducted solely with low-income families. It is thus not clear whether the findings are related specifically to father-absence or if they are not more appropriately attributed to the lower-class status of the families involved. The findings are similar to those for lower income families in general (Becker, 1964): the mothers attempted to "overcontrol" (restrict) the behavior of their father-absent children and to use power-oriented techniques; their children were found to be dependent and submissive and have low achievement motivation (Tiller, 1957; Kriesberg, 1970).

The effects of a particular method of control are much more complex, however, than much of this research indicates, depending in part in variations according to the sex of the parent and the sex of the child, the specific technique utilized, as well as the emotional context of the disciplinary action. In much of the research these variables have been confounded, leading to serious questions regarding the reported effects of different methods of control (Freeberg and Payne, 1967).

Baumrind (1966), however, in a comparison of three types of parental control, combined degree, method, and context in her classificatory scheme. "Authoritarian" parents set standards of conduct, demand obedience, and are often punitive; they "attempt to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of the child in accordance with a set standard of conduct, usually an absolute standard" (p. 890). These parents use punitive, forceful measures to control the child, restricting his autonomy, and discouraging verbal give and take. "Permissive" parents are non-punitive, accepting, affirmative, and reasoning, and allow the child to regulate his own behavior; they "attempt to behave in a non-punitive, acceptant, and affirmative manner towards the child's impulses, desires and actions" (p. 889). These parents make few demands, allow the child to regulate his own activities as much as possible, avoid the exercise of control, and do not encourage the child to obey externally defined standards.

Against these two patterns of parental behavior, Baumrind contrasts the "authoritative" parents who control but do not restrict their children; they "attempt to direct the child's activities in a rational, issue-oriented manner" (p. 891). These parents encourage verbal give and take, giving the child reason for directives and soliciting his objections when he refuses to conform, but exert firm control at points of parent-child divergence. These parents use

> reason, power, and shaping by regime and reinforcement to achieve their objectives and do not base their decisions on group consensus or the individual child's desires.
>
> (p. 891)

The effects on the child of these respective types of discipline are discussed in Baumrind's review of twelve studies selected for their relevance and methodological soundness. Generally, these studies show

1. that punishment, when associated with punitiveness and rejection, is clearly associated with cognitive and emotional disturbance in the child (Glueck and Glueck, 1950; Sears *et al.*, 1953; Bandura and Walters, 1959; McCord *et al.*, 1961; Becker *et al.*, 1962; Kagan and Moss, 1962).

2. that high demands (for orderliness, socially desirable behavior, and for assuming household responsibilities) provoke antisocial aggression only when associated with repressive, hostile and restrictive parental control (Glueck and Glueck, 1950; Bandura and Walters, 1959; McCord *et al.*, 1961; Sears *et al.*, 1953; Becker *et al.*, 1962; Schaefer and Bayley, 1963).

3. that high power assertion may result in either submissive or aggressive behavior by the child (Baldwin, 1948; Hoffman, 1960; Schaefer and Bayley, 1963).

4. that restrictiveness, when accompanied by hostility or overprotectiveness, tends to be associated in the child with passivity, dependence, social withdrawal, and passively expressed hostility (Becker *et al.*, 1962; Kagan and Moss, 1962; McCord *et al.*, 1961; Schaefer and Bayley, 1963).

5. that permissiveness (lax control) increases the likelihood of socially disapproved behavior in children (Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957; Siegel and Kohn, 1959; Crandall *et al.*, 1964).

6. that firm control (enforcing rules, resisting child's demands, directing child's behavior) is negatively correlated with resistant and aggressive behavior in children (Bandura and Walters, 1959; Baldwin, 1948; Glueck and Glueck, 1950; McCord *et al.*, 1961) and positively associated with conscience development (Finney, 1961).

7. that similar patterns of parental control affect boys and girls differently (Bronfenbrenner, 1961).

The presence of high parental control thus appears to have detrimental effects on the child only when it consists of punitive and restrictive methods of control. Balanced with nurturance and maturity demands on the part of the parent, control has been found to be positively associated with the child's development of instrumentally competent behavior. One aspect of parental control which also has particular relevance to this discussion is the degree of communication established by the parent.

Communication. Studies by Baumrind and Black (1967) and Hatfield *et al.* (1967) demonstrated that self-reliant, self-controlled, affiliative behavior and high achievement standards in preschool children were related to parental communication of reasons for their demands on the child. Olim, Hess, and Shipman (1967) reported that mothers who tended to command rather than instruct had children who tended to score lower on cognitive tasks. Verbal influence strategies on the part of the parent have also been found to play an important part in determining the child's emotional development (Mishler and Waxler; 1968; Kogan and Wimberger, 1971); and Parke (1969) reported that accompanying verbal rationale appears to nullify the fear and anxiety that otherwise accompanies immediate and intense punishment.

Parental use of reasoning, as one aspect of control, provides the child with information about cause and effect relations which he can then transfer to similar situations (Baumrind, 1970). According to Baumrind, parents who are arbitrary in their control of the child, that is, who do not provide the child with reasons for their demands, are relatively unsuccessful in producing instrumentally competent behavior in their children. These parents do not encourage the child to develop control over his own behavior. This view is supported by Brophy (1970) who, in a study comparing the instructional methods of middle and lower socio-economic class mothers, found that the maternal verbal sequences which preceded the child's action (as compared with the corrective post-response style) provided the most meaning and cognitive stimulation for the child. Luria (1960) and Vygotsky (1962) have both pointed out that the child's ability to "order" his own behavior is based upon verbal instruction from the adult which, when heeded and obeyed, permits eventual cognitive control by the child of his own behavior.

Sex differences. Baumrind (1970) has pointed out that obtaining data regarding the differential treatment--or behavior--of boys and girls is difficult because, when the observer knows the sex of the child, "an automatic adjustment is made which tends to standardize judgements about the two sexes" (p. 7). Another problem in determining sex differences among children lies in the use of ambiguous concepts, since investigators sometimes use the same label for different phenomena. Identification and dependency--

two concepts often found in the sex-difference literature--tend to have inconsistent definitions between studies purportedly investigating the same phenomenon (Bronfenbrenner, 1960; Maccoby and Masters, 1970). The etiology of sex differences in personality traits has also not been clearly established in the literature. It is not certain, for example, whether girls are more verbally responsive because mothers spend more time in face-to-face verbalizations with them as infants (Moss, 1967; Goldberg and Lewis, 1969) or because girls' hearing is superior to that of boys (Garai and Scheinfeld, 1968).

Recently, however, evidence has emerged to support the view that sex-related differences in certain behaviors of children may be due to complex, subtle differences in parental behavior toward sons and daughters (e.g. Lewis, 1972). Mischel (1966) commented on the importance of parental reinforcement in shaping children's behaviors.

> The greater incidence of dependent behaviors for girls than for boys, and the reverse situation with respect to physically aggressive behavior, seems directly explicable in social learning terms. Dependent behaviors are less rewarded for males, physically aggressive behaviors are less rewarded for females in our culture, and consequently there are mean differences between the sexes in the frequency of such behavior after the first few years of life.
>
> (p. 58)

Bandura (1969), on the other hand, has stressed that imitation plays a significant role in the child's personality development "through the child's active imitation of parental attitudes and behavior" (p. 183). In support of

Bandura's view, Hoffman (1972) found that the parent's role as a model of competence is an important factor in the female child's development of achievement motivation and instrumental behavior.

It is not clear, however, how the processes of imitation and reinforcement interact as mechanisms of maternal influence on the father-absent boy. While Biller's (1969) findings, reported in the previous section, indicate that maternal encouragement and reinforcement for instrumental behavior may significantly modify the adverse effects of paternal deprivation on the boy, the results of several other studies reviewed in this chapter have suggested that, in the absence of the male model, the boy's development of instrumental competence may be facilitated only if the mother also allows him both sufficient freedom and sufficient responsibility to effectively imitate competent behavior (Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959; Tari, 1971).

Summary. The studies reviewed in this section focus on the significant processes involved in the mother-child relationship. The nature of the affective relationship and the power structure form the core of much theorizing and investigation regarding the socialization process within the family.

The patterns of interaction between mother and child are of considerable importance to the understanding of how the internal functioning of the father-absent family influences the development of the child. The mother's part in this relationship is viewed here as critical. Her ability to grant freedom and responsibility to the child, her methods of control and her ability to provide nurturance to the child are important areas of her influence.

Understanding her influence, however, requires looking at more than the interaction itself. It requires looking at her perceptions of her family and its stance *vis-a-vis* the larger world. Just as the effect of a single parental characteristic is modified by the total pattern of parental variables, the pattern of parental variables is conditioned by the context in which the family functions. The impact of this context and of the mother's own perception of her status and her role is examined in the following section.

Psychological and Environmental Factors

Hess and Handel (1967) discuss two aspects of the psychosocial organization of a family which have relevance to this study. One of these is the family "theme", which they define as

> a pattern of feelings, motives, fantasies, and conventionalized understanding which comprise some fundamental view of reality and some way or ways for dealing with it.
>
> (p. 17).

The family's implicit direction--"who we are and what we do about it"--is found in its theme. Another of the organizing processes of the family is the "establishment of boundaries" which Hess and Handel describe as "the position it has taken up *vis-a-vis* the outer, non-family world" (p. 17). Families limit their experiences in a variety of ways, including the determination of how self-directing individuals within the family are expected to become, how much of the world it is important to know about, and the translation of experience according to family values. How these processes of family life are modified when the father leaves the family determines, in part at least, the adjustment the remaining family members must make to defining a new family structure.

The influence of the external system with which the mother must cope is both direct, as it relates to her social and economic situation, and indirect, as it is interpreted through her perceptions. While there exist no systematic investigations of the mother's adjustment to the situation resulting from her husband's absence, there are some studies which suggest that dominant factors in the mother's adjustment include the following:

--practical problems of living (e.g., time, energy, finances)
--loss of self-esteem
--social isolation
--concern for the father-absent child's adjustment
--hostility toward men (Canadian Council on Social Development, 1971; Guyatt, 1971; Ilgenfritz, 1961; Schlesinger, 1969). These studies have shown that formerly married mothers, compared to those still married, are more likely to feel unhappy and to suffer from fears of being alone and from loss of self-confidence; they are more likely to have

problems finding time and energy for a job to augment their limited income and still maintain discipline, educate their children, and further their positive emotional growth; they tend to feel like misfits because social life is typically designed for couples. The impact of these factors is examined below in relationship to consequences on the mother's childrearing behavior.

Self-esteem. Hill (1968) has found that people's self-concepts change according to the roles they must assume. Lowering of the family's social position, as a result of reduced income and lower occupational status, may have serious consequences for the single mother's perception of personal adequacy (Guyatt, 1971; Ilgenfritz, 1961; Schlesinger, 1969). While there appears to be no evidence of a direct effect of lowered social position on the children in father-absent families, Kopf (1970) found that the mother's perception of the present situation as worse than it was prior to separation was related to low adjustment ranking of the son in school. Deutsch (1960), in a factor-analytic study of school achievement of Negro children from low-income families, concluded that it is

> objective social conditions which are associated with poor school achievement, rather than the more specific individual and familial factor although these last, in turn, are of course influenced by the objective life conditions.
>
> (p. 18)

A study by Sears *et al.* (1957) of mothers of kindergarten-age children provides relevant information regarding the effects of the mother's self-esteem on her relationship with her children. It was found in this study that the mother's self-esteem was an important correlate of her ability to feel and express warmth toward her child. Two other significant correlates of the mother's nurturant behavior which were identified were the degree to which the mother held her husband in high esteem and the extent to which she was satisfied with her current life situation.

Another dimension of childrearing which appears to be affected by the mother's sense of self-esteem is her ability to behave consistently with her children. Psychologists now have substantial knowledge of the need for consistent responsivity in the child's environment in order for the child to develop a sense of mastery in his interactions with that environment (e.g., Erikson, 1950; Lewis and Goldberg, 1969; White, 1959; Watson, 1966). In the Sears *et al.* (1957) study, consistent mothers (i.e., mothers who "followed through" on what they said they would do) had higher self-esteem than inconsistent mothers and were also more nurturant toward their children and more oriented toward rearing their children, while inconsistent mothers were found to be more oriented toward meeting their own needs than those of their children. There does appear, therefore, to be a substantial relationship between a mother's personal adjustment and her interaction with her children.

Children are also more likely to emulate the characteristics of a mother who has a positive self-concept (Helper, 1955). In theory, the degree to which the child adopts a parent's behavior is a function of the parents' nurturance and affection, competence, and power (Bronfenbrenner, 1960; Mowrer, 1950; Murphy, 1937). Research has demonstrated that children model the behavior of those who are rewarded for their behavior (Bandura, Ross and Ross, 1963; Rosenkrans and Hartup, 1967), who are nurturant (i.e., rewarding and affectionate) to the child (Bandura and Huston, 1961; Mowrer, 1960), and who possess rewarding power (Bandura, Ross and Ross, 1963). It can be expected that in the father-absent family, where the child is restricted in his exposure to adult models, the mother's influence as a model of behavior becomes particularly salient. Her affection toward the child and administration of rewards would appear to be significantly influenced by her own successful encounters with the environment, that is, with her ability to obtain rewarding consequences for her behavior.

Such encounters may be expected to be limited for the husbandless mother. Early investigations by Bowlby (1952) and Bartmeier (1953) strongly suggested that an important role of the father is as an emotional support to the mother for her self-regard and for her capacity to nurture children. In order to meet the emotional needs of children, adults must themselves experience emotional stability and security. The individual and emotional needs of the mother, ideally met within the marital relationship, may be deprived of fulfillment for the single mother. Where a loss of self-esteem is involved, the need for support and reassurance may become even more intense. In this situation, the combined needs of the children may be intolerable to the emotionally unsupported solitary parent. The danger also exists that the mother may demand that her needs be met by her children (Glasser and Navarre, 1965). In either case, there exists the potential for serious damage to the child's development.

Social isolation. The single mother is likely to be limited in the social ties that are normal channels of communication for the two-parent family. The type and quality of experience available to the female-headed household may be different than that available to a two-parent family; it may not include those typical of the opposite sex, which can lead to a structural distortion in the communication between the child and the adult world (Glasser and Navarre, 1965). Most social occasions are not geared for single parents; thus, they are often excluded or refuse to attend because they feel uncomfortable or because responsiblities to home and children leave neither time nor energy (Ilgenfritz, 1961; Lopata, 1969). It has been demonstrated (Proctor, 1963) that two-parent families are reluctant to establish friendship of any kind with single-parent families, whether they be the result of separation, desertion, or death. This tendency toward social isolation is compounded by lowered social status which removes the family from its previous peer group.

In a study by Marsden (1969), the majority of working-class women rearing children alone spoke of stigmatization by the community as isolating them from the community, while those secure in their self-esteem apparently did not feel such stigma, or were not concerned about it. Important in this regard appears to be the attitudes of friends and relatives, especially the mother's family and the amount of personal support they offer (Goode, 1963). Bernard (1964) found that women who seemed to handle their daily affairs "cheerfully and with humor" had a network of friends and relatives to draw upon.

The middle-class mothers in Marsden's study spoke most often of the social isolation that comes from not fitting into a "couples" social world. And the lowered income experienced by these women only heightened this isolation since they could no longer afford the activities in which they had previously engaged. Another major restriction felt by these women was the lack of suitable places or social contexts where they could "meet and get to know men of their own age without the surveillance and gossip of neighbors" (p. 134). When they did meet men they tended, however, to distrust the motives of these men and, in time, they tended to have a negative attitude toward men in general. Marsden reports that of the 116 mothers interviewed, over 20% appeared to have no social contacts whatsoever outside the family. The extensiveness of the social isolation of the single mother has been supported by Guyatt (1971), Ilgenfritz (1961), and Schlesinger (1969).

There is also evidence that, because of the assumption in Western society that the female-headed, single-parent family is deviant and pathological (Glasser and Navarre, 1965) and the stigmatization associated with it, the mother's themselves incorporate such attitudes, feeling insecure and guilt-ridden regarding their child-rearing abilities (Marsden, 1969; Ilgenfritz, 1961). Hetherington (1972) reported that divorced mothers in particular had a negative view of themselves and life in general. Burgess (1970), in a review of relevant research, takes the point of view that

> By its isolation of the one-parent family and by its attitude toward it as being deleterious to the well-being of children, society carries within itself the conditions that are causing many of the adverse effects felt by single parents and their children.
>
> (p. 138)

Practical problems of living. Father-absence generally means downward economic mobility for the family. Winston and Forsher (1971) reported a study of divorced mothers receiving welfare payments which shows that their ex-husbands' occupations--and by inference, incomes--were not concentrated in low-income categories, but paralleled the occupational distribution of men as a whole. Kriesberg

(1970), in his study of divorced and separated mothers in poverty, also showed that poverty was not related to their socioeconomic origins, and concluded that

> The economic fortunes of a husbandless mother are largely determined by contemporary circumstances.
>
> (p. 177)

Lower income means not only a drop in consumption within the home, but often a change in housing to poorer accommodation in a poorer neighborhood (Carter and Glick, 1970). Studies of social class differences show that the social and economic setting of the family strongly influence the structure of behavior that occurs within the family. Although the category of social class tends to be vague and overgeneralized in studies of the relationship between maternal characteristics and socioeconomic status, there can be no doubt that a mother's behavior is shaped partly by the influence of the economic and social community in which she lives, and by her position in it. Parents in higher-status families generally receive more esteem, more power, and more material comforts from society than do those in lower status families (McKinley, 1964).

It has been suggested that the behaviors of parents in interaction with their children are often pragmatic adjustments to internal and external stress and deprivation (Lewis, 1961; Minturn and Lambert, 1964). Such stress is much greater among lower-income families than among middle- and upper-income families (*ibid.*). As Minturn and Lambert (1964) concluded from their cross-cultural study:

> It now appears that the pressures impinging upon the growing child are much more in the nature of by-products of the horde of apparently irrelevant considerations that impinge upon the parents. These considerations of household composition, size of family, work load, etc., determine the time and energy that mothers have available to care for their children. They determine the range and content of mother-child relationships and the context in which these relations must take place.
>
> (p. 291)

If mothers of father-absent children tend to "overcontrol" and "overprotect" their children, as has been previously suggested, it appears that it may be in large part due to the adjustments these mothers must make to their environment.

Concern for the child's adjustment. Marsden (1969) found that single mothers were generally very concerned about either being too authoritarian and non-nurturant with their children or of being too affectionate and not providing sufficient discipline. Many of these mothers found the two roles nearly impossible to integrate. Goffman (1963) also reported that divorced mothers believe themselves to be inadequate parents.

It was found by Kriesberg (1967) that single mothers tended to be more concerned about the educational achievement of their children than were married mothers; however, frequently lacking supporting environments, their conduct was often inappropriate and their aspirations for their children were depressed. Additional support for this finding comes from studies of aspiration and child training practices in low-income families (McMillan, 1967; Moles, 1964).

Attitude toward men. The etiology of the husbandless mother's hostility toward men in general is not clear; it could stem from experiences predating her present situation or even her marriage. It appears, however, to be closely related to resentment toward the absent father (Guyatt, 1971; Ilgenfritz, 1961; Hetherington, 1972). It has been found that the mother's evaluation of the absent father can influence not only the boys' feelings toward his father (Bach, 1946), but his own self-concept and behavior (Diamond, 1957; Neubauer, 1960).

Summary. Research findings reported in this section indicate that the effect of any particular parent practice is going to be qualified in important ways by the total context of other practices in the family and by outside environmental factors. The experiences of the father-absent child differ from those of the father-present child, not simply from the absence or presence of a father's influence but in many other social, psychological and economic ways.

Parental authority in the family shapes how insistently the parents will impose their images upon the child, how they shape the child in keeping with their own preferred experience, whether they push, encourage, or restrict the child's growth and socialization process (Hess and Handel, 1967). The power structure of the father-absent family is one in which the decision-making for the family devolves upon the solitary parent. There may be a greater tendency to inconsistency or rigidity in the socialization practices of the mother since she lacks the supportive reinforcement or balancing influence which comes with the sharing of authority with another adult (Glasser and Navarre, 1965; Kriesberg, 1970).

The larger social context in which the family operates also has a significant influence on the pattern of childrearing practices. For example, Baumrind (1972) found that if black families were viewed by white norms, they appeared authoritarian but that, unlike their white counterparts, the most authoritarian of these families produced the most assertive and independent girls. The social reality of black females requires that they possess the skills and abilities to survive competitively in a non-supportive environment. Baumrind concluded that

> the black parents were not so much rejecting the child as training her to take care of herself from an early age.
>
> (p. 266)

It is possible that similar differences in the structure and social context of father-absent families may have their own unique influence on the development of children in these families.

Conclusions

Theory has suggested and research has supported the view that father-absence generally has adverse effects on the child's ability to adapt to and master the environment. Evidence has been presented in this chapter which demonstrates that the critical influence may come not from paternal deprivation itself, but from some pattern of interacting variables related to the mother.

While no studies of father-absent children actually depict the mother and child in interaction, support for the importance of the mother's behavior has been found in all investigations which have considered this relationship. Research on parental correlates of child behavior has found particular dimensions of parental behavior to be closely associated with the development of instrumental skills in children. Studies by Baumrind (1967) and Baumrind and Black (1967) have found that parents of the most realistic, competent, and content children scored significantly higher than parents of markedly less competent children on measures of the following behavior dimensions:

--maturity demands
--nurturance
--control
--communication.

These parents "balanced high nurturance with high control and high demands with clear communication about what was required of the child" (p. 80). Support for the importance of this particular combination of parental behavior dimensions and instrumental behavior in children has come from a number of studies reviewed in this chapter. It has also been shown that maturity demands (independence-training and independence-granting) is a dimension of childrearing behavior which may be unique to the father-child relationship in the two-parent family, and thus may have particular relevance to the single-parent mother's ability to compensate for the father's absence and offset at least some of the adverse consequences of paternal deprivation for the child.

It has also been suggested that the single-parent mother's childrearing practices, relative to the dimensions of behavior listed above, may depend to some extent on her ability to cope with a number of psychological and environmental factors found to be associated with father-absence. Hess *et al*, (1968) have stated that the significance of the context of mother-child interaction derives from

> the fact that the mother-child dyad is a part of a larger social system: the nature of the interaction between mother and child reflects the position and circumstances of that family in the larger community.
>
> (p. 92)

It has been shown that father-absence often means for the family reduction in income, social status and social activities, including for many mothers a struggle against resentment, isolation and self-doubt (Herzog and Sudia, 1971). Particular problems include:

- --loss of self-esteem
- --social isolation
- --practical problems of living (time, energy, finances)
- --concern for the child's adjustment
- --hostility toward men.

Though none of the studies of father-absent children has included a systematic investigation of the impact of these factors, research has indicated that the mother's ability to cope with these factors may significantly influence her methods of controlling child behavior, her ability to nurture her child, and her ability to serve as a model of competence for the child. Social isolation and loss of self-esteem in particular have been shown to interfere with a mother's ability to provide nurturance to her children. Research on the problems of single-parent mothers suggests that the parenting behavior of these mothers is likely to resemble that of the parents of dysfunctional children in Baumrind's (1967) and Baumrind and Black's (1967) studies, who tended either to rely on power, punishment, and unlilateral demands or to be relatively uninvolved and indulgent with their children, demanding little of them. Research on the significance of these factors has been sketchy, tending to focus on individual variables, and relatively unsystematic. Nevertheless, the conclusion that maternal influence is important to the development of the father-absent child is consistent throughout this literature.

The objective of the present study is to determine which of the maternal variables--including the dimensions of childrearing behavior and the psychological and environmental factors listed above--has a significant relationship to the development of instrumental competence in father-absent children. It is hypothesized that mothers of instrumentally competent father-absent children, as compared to mothers of instrumentally dysfunctional children, will demonstrate higher levels of parental maturity demands, nurturance, control, and communication in interaction with their children, and also evidence higher levels of adjustment on the five major problem areas of loss of self-esteem, social isolation, practical adjustment, concern for the child's adjustment, and attitude toward men.

The dimensions of child behavior used to assess instrumental competence in father-absent children are: self-control, explorative tendency, self-reliance, peer affiliation, and subjective mood. These dimensions of behavior were discussed in the first section of this chapter as behavioral indicators of instrumental competence. The father-absent children selected for the present study were chosen on the basis of their demonstrating distinct patterns of behavior as measured for these five behavior dimensions: children demonstrating high levels of instrumental competence were designated as *Pattern A;* children demonstrating instrumentally dysfunctional behavior were designated as *Pattern B.*

Hypotheses

The general hypothesis of the present study states that mothers of children demonstrating high levels of instrumentally competent behavior (Pattern A) will have significantly higher scores on selected measures of childrearing practices and adjustment than will mothers of children demonstrating instrumentally dysfunctional behavior (Pattern B).

Childrearing Practices

Hypothesis I	Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the behavior variables defining Maturity Demands.
Hypothesis II	Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the behavior variables defining Nurturance.
Hypothesis III	Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will

Hypothesis III, cont'd.	mothers of Pattern B children on the behavior variables defining Control.
Hypothesis IV	Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the behavior variables defining Communication.

Adjustment

Hypothesis V	Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the adjustment scale defining Self-esteem.
Hypothesis VI	Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the adjustment scale defining Social Isolation.
Hypothesis VII	Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the adjustment scale defining Practical Adjustment.
Hypothesis VIII	Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the adjustment scale defining Perception of Child's Adjustment.

Hypothesis IX Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the adjustment scale defining Attitude Toward Men.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Overview

The objective of the study was to test differences in maternal childrearing practices and adjustment associated with two patterns of behavior in father-absent children: instrumentally competent behavior (Pattern A) and instrumentally dysfunctional behavior (Pattern B). Mothers were selected for the study according to the pattern of behavior demonstrated by their 4- to 6-year-old father-absent children. The children were all between the ages of four and six because previous research has generally indicated that under six is a period in a child's development during which father-absence is most likely to have adverse effects on the child's personality development (Biller, 1969; Biller and Bahm, 1971; Hetherington, 1966; Santrock, 1970a). The children were identified for pattern membership by observation of their behavior in the nursery-school setting: Pattern A children were identified as self-reliant, self-controlled, explorative and content (instrumentally competent); Pattern B children were identified as either discontent, withdrawn, and distrustful or lacking in self-control and self-reliance and tending to retreat from novel or challenging experiences (instrumentally dysfunctional).

The mothers of Pattern A and Pattern B children were observed interacting with their children in the natural home environment and later interviewed regarding problems they have experienced since their husband's absence. The Home Visit Sequence Analysis, developed by Baumrind (1967), was employed in rating observations of mother-child interaction in the home setting. Baumrind's (1967) Parent Interview Schedule and Parent Interview Scales were also used as a supplementary measure to assess expressed childrearing practices and attitudes. The Adjustment Interview Schedule and Adjustment Interview Scales, developed for this study, were used to assess problems of adjustment as perceived by the mothers. In addition, the Class I and Class II scales of the California Psychological Inventory were administered to the mothers to identify personality characteristics which might account for any differences in adjustment found for mothers of Pattern A vs. Pattern B children.

Subjects

The subjects for this study were the mothers of 20 four- to six-year-old father-absent children chosen from among children attending seven nursery schools in the City of Edmonton. They were designated as Pattern A mothers (N = 10) and Pattern B mothers (N = 10), according to the pattern of behavior demonstrated by their children in the nursery-school setting.

Selection of Subjects

Twenty 4- to 6-year-old children were chosen from among 340 children attending seven nursery schools in Edmonton. The nursery schools were selected on the basis of four criteria: (1) they had a relatively high percentage of father-absent children compared with father-present children enrolled (an average of 34%); (2) they provided the most homogeneous environments relative to other nursery school facilities in the city; (3) they were staffed with the most highly trained child care personnel relative to other nursery schools in the city; and (4) they were located in various geographical sections representing different demographic areas of the city.

All children enrolled in the selected nursery schools were rated by their nursery school supervisors on 109 behavior items (see Appendix A) related to five dimensions of instrumental competence in preschool children: namely, self-control, approach-avoidance tendency, self-reliance, subjective mood, and peer affiliation. Sixty of the father-absent children, who received among the thirty highest or thirty lowest rankings, as determined by total scores on the behavior ratings, composed the first pool of potential subjects for observation. From this pool of potential subjects, 28 were selected who met the following criteria:

(1) The child must have been attending his or her current nursery school for a period of at least four months, in order to avoid sampling behavior that was primarily a response to a new situation.

(2) The child must have been father-absent for a period of at least one year. The rationale for this control was to exclude the possibility that the child's behavior and home situation would primarily reflect the impact of a recent traumatic event, the departure of the father (McDermott, 1968).

(3) A child whose family included a father-substitute was excluded, since a father-substitute would be expected to provide influences on both mother and child which would invalidate the results of this study. The identification of father-substitutes came from the mother's report, since no other method was deemed feasible.

(4) Only a first-born child was selected. It has been found that older siblings can have a significant influence on the adjustment and behavior of the father-absent child (Sutton-Smith *et al.*, 1968; Wohlford *et al.*, 1971).

(5) Only a child whose measured I.Q. was above 90 was selected, in order to avoid sampling behavior that was the result of retarded mental development. For this purpose the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test was employed.

(6) The sample was limited to families for whom English was the first language, in order to reduce the possibility of cultural differences among the children and their families.

(7) The sample was limited to families whose mothers were divorced or separated. Mothers who were widowed or who had never been married were excluded because evidence in the literature indicated that the experiences of these groups differ significantly from those of divorced and separated mothers (Sprey, 1967).

(8) The sample was limited to families who had been in the middle socio-economic range prior to father-absence, in order to control for childrearing differences among the mothers that would be related to socio-economic status prior to their husbands' absence. As a rule, father-absence lowers the socio-economic status of the family. While the data regarding the effects of lowered socio-economic status on the father-absent family is not definitive (e.g., Kopf, 1970), research indicates that such an experience would indirectly affect the mother-child relationship, depending upon the mother's ability to adapt to the lowered status (e.g., Glasser and Navarre, 1965). The necessary data was obtained from mothers' reports and measured by the Warner Scale.

After this initial selection, three families were eliminated from the study for personal reasons (no families refused to participate.) The remaining children who met these criteria--13 from the highest ranking group and 12 from the lowest ranking group--were assessed independently by two trained observers in the nursery school setting.

The five dimensions of child behavior (self-control, approach-avoidance tendency, self-reliance, peer affiliation and subjective mood) on which the children in this study were assessed are those identified by Baumrind (1967) as differentiating between children who were the most realistic, competent and content and those who were either dysphoric and distrustful or immature and insecure. The definitions of these five dimensions of behavior and the aspects of behavior by which each of the dimensions was assessed are found below (see pp. 63-69).

Children's behavior in the nursery school setting was assessed by two trained observers during six one-hour observation periods, randomly distributed over a two-week period. All ratings were made without consultation between the observers. In addition, the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test was administered to each child prior to initiation of the observation periods. In order for the child to remain in the study, the two observers' ratings had to concur with those made by the nursery school staff and be in agreement with each other. All children who were reliably rated by the two observers and had one of the patterns of high and low scores designated in the following paragraph were selected for this study. A total of

20 children met these criteria.

Children who were rated high on self-reliance, mood, and approach or self-control were designated as Pattern A (N=10). Children who were rated low on the approach dimension and either a) the peer-affiliation and mood, or b) self-reliance and self-control or mood dimensions were designated as Pattern B (N=10).[1]

Descriptive Characteristics of the Sample

Descriptive data on the characteristics of Pattern A and Pattern B children and their mothers are contained in Table 1 on p. 64. The sample consisted largely of mothers in the lower-middle and upper-lower classes. The mothers of Pattern A children tended to have somewhat higher socio-economic status, although the between-group difference was not significant. The education level of the two groups of mothers was nearly identical, both groups having an average of twelve years' formal education.

Child Behavior Dimensions

The five dimensions of child behavior (self-control, approach-avoidance tendency, self-reliance, subjective

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[1] Designation of pattern membership is in accordance with the criteria established by Baumrind (1967).

Table 1

Sample Characteristics

Descriptive Data

Variable	Pattern A Mean	Pattern A Range	Pattern B Mean	Pattern B Range
Sex of Child: Female	N = 4		N = 5	
Male	N = 6		N = 5	
Birth Order of Child	1st	-	1st	-
Age of Child (in months)	61	49 - 73	60	48 - 72
Age of Child at Father-absence (in months)	26	0 - 48	22	0 - 42
I.Q. of Child (PPVT)	115	100 - 125	107	91 - 114
Mother's Education (in years)	12	10 - 13	11.7	9 - 15
Socio-Economic Status* (Warner Scale)	49	40 - 63	55.9	40 - 70

*Note: Socio-Economic Status Code: 12-17 = Upper Class, 70-84 = Lower-Lower Class, 49 = Lower-Middle Class, 55.9 = Upper-Lower Class.

mood, and peer affiliation), used in the present study for subject selection, are summarized as trait ratings. They were assessed through observations of child behavior in the nursery school setting made independently by two psychologists experienced in the observation and diagnosis of preschool behavior, and by two nursery school supervisors familiar with the child. Using the definition of trait as

> a characteristic of an individual which allows other individuals to predict his behavior along a continuum of individual differences.
>
> (Baumrind, 1971b, p. 5)

the rating of traits involves perception of individual behaviors which are consistent:

> Whereas on initial contact the child's behavior appears to be infinitely variable, with repeated observations it becomes clear that certain patterns tend to recur in similar circumstances, that patterns bear a temporal relationship to each other, and that some patterns occur frequently, others, infrequently. Most important of all, we begin to realize that far from being infinitely variable, the child's reportoire of behaviors is finite.
>
> (Hutt, 1970, p. 29)

The patterns of behavior distinguishing the two groups of father-absent children in the present study are designated as instrumentally competent behavior (Pattern A) and instrumentally dysfunctional behavior (Pattern B). The five dimensions of child behavior used to determine pattern membership are those identified by Baumrind (1967) as indicating both socialized behavior and independent behavior--two major components of instrumental competence (see pp. 12 - 15). They are defined as follows:

Self Control

Self-control refers to the tendency of the child to control the impulse to act in those situations where self-restraint is appropriate. In order for an instance of self-restraint to be treated as an index of self-control, the child must be motivated to engage in an act and there must be adaptive reasons for restraint in the form of an adult prohibition or a safety rule.

Aspects of self-control assessed were (a) obedience to nursery school rules that conflict with an action that the child is motivated to perform, under circumstances where such prohibitions are known to the child; (b) ability to sustain a work effort; (c) capacity to wait his turn in play with other children or in use of washroom facilities; (d) ability to restrain those expressions of excitement or anger that would be disruptive or destructive to the peer group; and (e) low variability of self-control as shown by absence of explosive emotional expression or swings between high and low control.

Approach-Avoidance Tendency

Approach-avoidance tendency refers to the extent to which the child reacts to stimuli that are novel, stressful, exciting, or unexpected, by approaching these stimuli in an explorative and curious fashion (contrasted to avoid- these stimuli or becoming increasingly anxious when challenged to approach them).

Aspects of approach assessed were (a) vigor and involvement with which the child reacts to his normal environment; (b) preference for stimulating activities, such as rough and tumble games or climbing and balancing; (c) interest in exploring the potentialities of a new environment; (d) tendency to seek out experiences with challenge (e.g., tasks which are new for him); and, (e) tendency to attack an obstacle to a goal rather than retreat from the goal.

Self-Reliance

Self-reliance refers to the ability of the child to handle his affairs in an independent fashion relative to other children his age. As this variable is defined, realistic help-seeking may be regarded as an aspect of self-reliance rather than dependency when the child actively searches for help in order to perform a task too difficult for him to accomplish alone. The child rated high in self-reliance, however, does not seek help as a way of relating to others or of avoiding effort, but as a means of achieving a goal or learning a new technique.

Aspects of self-reliance assessed were (a) ease of separation from mother; (b) matter-of-fact rather than dependent manner of relating to nursery school supervisors, especially when seeking help; (c) willingness to be alone at times; (d) pleasure expressed in learning how to master new tasks; (e) resistance to encroachment of other children; (f) leadership interest and ability; and (g) interest expressed in making decisions and choices which affect him.

Subjective Mood (Buoyant-Dysphoric)

Subjective mood refers to the predominant affect expressed by the child with regard to the degree of pleasure and zest shown. A buoyant mood was demonstrated behaviorally by happy involvement in nursery school activities. If the child is outgoing, he may appear lively and perhaps aggressively good-humored. If less outgoing, the child may appear contemplative and privately engrossed, in a contented, secure manner. A dysphoric mood is expressed by anxious, hostile, and unhappy peer relations and low involvement in nursery school activities. If the child ~~is~~ outgoing he may appear angry, punishing, and obstructive, when dysphoric. If less outgoing, the child may appear fretful, bored, or subdued.

Peer Affiliation

Peer affiliation refers to the child's ability and desire to express warmth toward others of his own age.

Aspects assessed were (a) expressions of trust in peers and expectation of being treated by them in an affiliative manner; (b) expressions of affection congruent with the particular peer relationship; (c) cooperative engagement in group activities; and, (d) absence of sadistic, hostile, or unprovoked aggressive behavior toward playmates.

Maternal Behavior Dimensions

Four dimensions of parent behavior (maturity demands, nurturance, control, and communication) were used in the present study to assess differences in child-rearing practices between mothers of Pattern A children and mothers of Pattern B children. They were measured through observation of mother-child interaction in the home setting using the Home Visit Sequence Analysis (HVSA). Each of these dimensions of parent behavior have been defined by Baumrind (1967) as containing a number of individual variables. The conceptual definition for each dimension and the operational definitions for the variables used in this study are as follows:

Maturity Demands

Maternal maturity demands refer to the pressures put upon the child to perform up to ability in intellectual, social, and emotional spheres (independence-training) and the leeway given the child to make his own decisions (independence-granting). The individual variables comprising the dimension of maturity demands are as follows:

A. Independence-training, control: The percentage of mother-initiated control sequences where the message concerns cognitive insight into cause and effect relations or factual knowledge about the world. The purpose of this variable is to measure the extent to which the mother's control efforts are integrated with information or rationale thereby increasing the child's ability to direct himself in accordance with certain principles set forth by the mother.

B. Independence-training, noncontrol: The percentage of mother-initiated nonpower sequences where the message concerns an exchange of information, and advancement to the child's cognitive/social skills, or a decision made by the child. The purpose of this variable is to measure in non-disciplinary situations the same mother behavior as in variable A. (control).

C. Respects child's decision: The percentage of mother-initiated control sequences involving non-compliance where the mother retracts a directive on the basis of the child's arguments.

Nurturance

Maternal nurturance refers to the caretaking functions of the mother including those maternal acts and attitudes that express love and are directed at guaranteeing the child's physical and emotional security. Nurturance is expressed by warmth and involvement. Warmth is defined as the mother's love and compassion for the child expressed by means of sensory stimulation (glances, mutual glances), verbal approval, and tenderness of expression and touch. Involvement is defined as pride and pleasure in the child's accomplishments as manifested by words of praise and in the interest shown. The individual variables comprising the dimension of nurturance are as follows:

D. Satisfies child: the percentage of child-initiated sequences in which the interaction produces satisfaction for the child. The purpose of this variable is to measure the extent to which the mother succeeds in satisfying the child in child-initiated sequences.

E. Supports child: The percentage of child-initiated sequences involving the child's request for support to which the mother complies less those sequences where the mother does not comply without giving a reason or an alternative. The purpose of this variable is to measure the mother's tendency to react affirmatively to the child's bids for support and attention.

Control

Maternal control refers to the socializing functions of the mother. It consists of those acts of the mother intended to shape the child's goal-oriented activity, to modify his expressions of dependent, aggressive, and playful behavior, and to promote internalization of maternal standards. Control as defined here is not a measure of restrictiveness, punitive attitudes, or intrusiveness. The individual variables comprising maternal control are as follows:

F. Positive outcome: The percentage of mother-initiated control sequences in which the child complies. The purpose of this variable is to measure the mother's ability to enforce directives.

G. Does not accept power conflict with child: The percentage of child-initiated sequences in which the mother does not comply in response to the child's whining, pleading or crying. The purpose of this variable is to measure the extent to which the mother is coerced into complying with the expressed wishes of the child.

Communication

Maternal communication refers to the extent to which the mother uses verbal reasoning either to obtain compliance or to solicit the child's opinions and feelings; that is, the extent to which she uses verbal (open) rather than other manipulative techniques of control. The individual variables comprising the dimension of communication are defined as follows:

H. Uses reason to obtain compliance: The percentage of mother-initiated control sequences in which the mother uses reason with the directive. The purpose of this variable is to measure how often the mother offers a reason for a directive prior to the child's objection.

I. Encourages verbal give and take: The percentage of control sequences in which the mother uses power or reason or responds with power or reason to the child's demands in order to handle a mother-child divergence. Included here is the percentage of control sequences in which the mother engages the child in argument generally altering his course of action as a result. The purpose of this variable is to measure the extent to which the mother responds to divergence by the use of reason and argument rather than power.

Maternal Adjustment Variables

Five variables (self-esteem, social contact, practical adjustment, perception of child's adjustment, and attitude toward men) were used in this study to assess differences between mothers of Pattern A children and mothers of Pattern B children on their adjustment. Adjustment is defined as the satisfaction, freedom from constraint, and perception of personal adequacy experienced by the mother in meeting her own and her child's needs. The adjustment variables were assessed through interview procedures using the Adjustment Interview Schedule and Adjustment Interview Scales. Each of these variables has been found through previous research to be a major problem area for single-parent mothers (see pp. 38 - 48). The variables are defined as follows:

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem is defined as the mother's perception of herself as competent to meet the needs of herself and her child.

Social Contact

Social contact is defined as the amount of social interaction engaged in by the mother and the degree of satisfaction expressed by the mother with regard to her social situation.

Practical Adjustment

Practical adjustment is defined as the degree of freedom from economic and physical (time, energy) constraints expressed by the mother regarding her ability to meet her own and her child's needs.

Perception of Child's Adjustment

Perception of child's adjustment is defined as the degree of concern expressed by the mother over problems of the child related to the father's absence.

Attitude Toward Men

Attitude toward men is defined as the degree of trust (vs. hostility) expressed by the mother toward men, including her former spouse.

Instruments

Home Visit Sequence Analysis (HVSA)

The HVSA was initially developed by Baumrind (1967) to measure four dimensions of parental behavior identified as maturity demands, nurturance, control and communication and has been used with some modifications by Tari (1971). HVSA was designed to measure in detail those parent-child interactions in which one member (in this case, the mother) attempts overtly to influence the behavior of another (the child) or vice versa. The major interaction unit is called a *sequence.* Its length depends upon the time elapsed between the initiation of an act and its outcome.

According to Baumrind (1967), a *control sequence* consists of two or more causally related acts containing a single message and involving the same two family members as participants in an interchange initiated by one of them and ending with the other's compliance or non-compliance. A *noncontrol sequence* has no control initiator or compliance outcome but otherwise has the same definition.

Coded elements of the sequence include the participants, substantive message, degree of power and kind of incentive used, control-outcome ratings, and child satisfaction. *Type I sequences* are control sequences initiated by the mother intended to control or alter the behavior or future capacity to act of the child. In her initiating act the mother directs the child how to behave, impelling the child by power or incentive. The child responds by complying or not complying. The child makes a decision immediately, or following a number of interpersonal maneuvers with the mother, who initiated the sequence. These maneuvers and the results are called the control-outcome rating. The nature of demand made upon the child determines the message code. *Type II sequences* are child-initiated control sequences. Here the child makes a demand of the parent with which the mother complies or fails to comply immediately, or after further interaction with the child. *Type III sequences* are mother-initiated, non-control sequences engaged in without the intention of altering the behavior of the child and usually for the mutual benefit of both mother and child. Appendix C contains the basic HVSA categories and a sample HVSA coding form. Definitions for the parent behavior dimensions of maternal maturity demands, nurturance, control, and communication and for the variables comprising each dimension have been presented previously (see pp. 69 - 73).

The following is an extract from an actual home visit during this study which has been coded in order to illustrate the system. (/ indicates beginning of a sequence, // indicates end of sequence. Roman numerals I, II, and III refer to type of sequence and arabic numerals 1, 2, 3, and so on, designate ordinal position within type of sequence.) The excerpt coded appears in Appendix C.

M = Mother
C = Child

8:30 M and C going into bathroom to
prepare for C's bath. C babbling
in baby-talk (googoo gaga). C
counts bumps on lego blocks. /C:
...five, six, seven, eight, nine.
You know how many there is on this? Type II_1
M: How many? C: Nine. And there's
seven on the row next to it.// M:
How did you figure that out? C:
one, two, three, four five. And
this has five. And this has one,
two, three. The other one has one, Type III_1
two, three. M: How come you think
they did it that way? C: Cause.
It's the way I planned. M: You
planned it did you? C: I planned
that.//
C plays with airplane. Mother
fills tub. C: I want the big
ducky and the little ducky (talking
to self). C leaves room. /M:
Can you find both of them? C: Yeah. Type III_2
M: Okay.// /M: Oh, where's your
nightgown (in exasperated tone)? Begin Type I_1
C: Downstairs. M: Who's gonna get
it? C: You (C continues to play
with airplane). M: How come it's
always *my* turn to get it? C: Cause
all the time *I* don't have to get
it. M: Yeah, but all the time you
never get it. C: Sometimes. /M:
Hey, you want some bubble bath in Type III_3
your water? C: Yeah.// /C: I want Type II_2
to pour it in. M: Alright (C pours
it in.// /C: Does it have bubbles Begin Type II_3
in it yet? M: No. /M: Pour it in,
right under the faucet, right under Type I_2
the faucet, keep going, little
more, want lots of bubbles. That's
enough. WA, THAT'S ENOUGH!! You're
gonna have bubbles, God, you're
gonna have bubbles everywhere.
Okay, that'll do it.// /M: I'll be End Type II_3
back in a moment with your nightie.
(M leaves.// C plays, chatting to
herself the whole time mother is End Type I_1
8:35 gone.)

Baumrind (1967) reported reliabilities ranging from .76 to .90 on four kinds of reliability measures, as follows: Reliability 1--one transcript, two coders, both visited home--averaged .90; Reliability 2--one transcript, two coders, neither visited home--averaged .76; Reliability 3--two transcripts, one coder who visited home--averaged .80; Reliability 4--two transcripts, two coders who visited home--averaged .84.

The four dimensions of parental behavior measured by the HVSA have previously been found to be significantly related to instrumental competence in preschool children as identified in this study (Baumrind, 1967; Baumrind and Black, 1967). In the present investigation, mother-child interactions were observed in the natural environment of the home. As Lytton (1971) has pointed out, arguments can be made to justify both observation in the natural setting of the home and in the structured situation. The greatest disadvantage of structured observation is the questionable generalizability of data gathered in the experimental situation to the natural situation in which the child is socialized (Gump and Sutton-Smith, 1955; Baumrind 1969, 1970, 1971b). Because naturalistic observation has the major problem of lack of control over external stimuli, attempts were made to ensure that the situations were as similar as possible (see p. 84). The HVSA measured the mother-child interaction directly and discretely, as all interactions were taped and coded using the pre-established coding system illustrated above. The observers were non-participant.

Parent Interview

The interview is a bi-dimensional instrument which Baumrind (1967) designed, as an adaptation of the parent interview used by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957), to obtain information about both parental attitudes and reported childrearing performance. The interview is divided into two sections, the first part containing questions on beliefs and attitudes and the second part containing questions on performance. This division was made in order to distinguish between parental childrearing ideology and actual childrearing performance. Within the interview schedule the questions were grouped in sections with each section focused on a different dimension of parent-child interaction. Fifty-four 5-point scales were used to rate the interview transcripts, with "5" representing the highest rating. The four dimensions of maternal control, maturity demands, communication, and nurturance are assessed by scales 1-31, 32-39, 40-45, and 46-54, respectively. The interview schedule and the scales for the parent interview are contained in Appendix D.

Since hypotheses were made at the behavioral level and direct observational data were available, maternal attitudes and reported performance as revealed by interview data were treated as additional findings. The Parent Interview was employed in the present study primarily to determine whether differences in maternal attitudes and reported performance existed similar to the hypothesized differences in behavior for Pattern A and Pattern B mothers.

Adjustment Interview

The adjustment interview was designed for the present study, based upon questionnaires constructed by the Canadian Council on Social Development (1971), Guyatt (1971), and Marsden (1969), to obtain information about problems of adjustment which the mothers have experienced since the absence of their husbands. The interview is divided into five sections, with each section containing questions on different variable of maternal adjustment: self-esteem, social contact, practical adjustment (time, energy, finances), attitude toward men, and perception of child's adjustment. Five 5-point scales, one scale to measure each variable, were used to rate the interview transcripts, with "5" representing the highest rating. The interview schedule and scales for the adjustment interview are contained in Appendix E.

Reliability of the adjustment interview was determined through a pre-study sample of four husbandless mothers, not included in this study, who met the criteria for subject selection (see p. 61). Percentage of agreement between test-retest scores ranged from 60% to 80% for this pre-study sample, with no more than one point difference between any of the test-retest scores. The validity of the interview was judged primarily by its correspondence with three questionnaires previously used to obtain information on the same variables of concern in this study. In addition, the questions enabled both objective responses (e.g., "How many times have you been out socially in the past two weeks?") and subjective responses (e.g., "Has your social life changed since becoming a single parent?") for the social contact and practical adjustment variables, which were then given equal weight on the interview scales; responses to questions concerning attitudes and perceptions were accepted at face validity.

California Psychological Inventory (CPI): Class I and Class II Scales

The scales in Class I and Class II of the CPI are addressed principally to personality characteristics important for social living and social interaction. These scales of the CPI were used in the present study as a measure of those personality characteristics which could account for any differences found on the adjustment interview between Pattern A and Pattern B mothers. Appendix F contains the value of U on the Mann-Whitney test for Pattern A and Pattern B scores on each scale, with the mean score and standard deviation Pattern comparisons, and a comparison of each Pattern's composited profiles with the female norms.

For the twelve Class I and Class II scales of the Inventory, cross-validation studies show correlations in the .38 to .60 range with other objective and Q-sort measures. Test-retest correlations have been found in the .60 to .84 range.

Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT)

The instrument provides an estimate of the subject's verbal intelligence, and was used in the present study for sample selection. It is easily administered and scored. Alternate form reliabilities reported range from .67 to .97 (Buros, 1965) and validity studies have found correlations in the .70 to .80 ranges when compared with Stanford-Binet (L-M) and WISC for predictive validity (Buros, 1965).

Socio-Economic Status (SES)

The scale used to assess the subjects' SES is that devised by Warner, Meeker and Eells (1960) based on occupation, house type, dwelling area, and source of income. The Warner Scale correlates .803 with the Blishen scale for an Edmonton sample (Orn and Das, 1972), with each showing the following mean and standard deviation:

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Blishen	50.424	8.73
Warner	50.860	10.87

Procedures

Training of Observer-Interviewers

The observations in the nursery school setting were conducted by two female psychologists, both of whom were experienced in the observation and diagnosis of child behavior and in the administration of the PPVT.

The HVSA and interviewing was conducted by three female graduate students from the Department of Educational Psychology, University of Alberta. They were trained in the observation and coding of mother-child interactions according to the HVSA and in the procedures involved in interviewing mothers and in rating responses to questions. Training was conducted over a fourteen-week period. Videotapes of parent-child interaction were employed during the first twelve weeks of training and actual home observations of mother-child interaction and interviews with the mothers were conducted during the last two weeks. The observers were also trained to ask additional questions regarding any traumatic experiences in the life of the child, any special resources available to the mother, and the influence of possible father-substitutes on the family. The use of female observers was intended to relax reservations that the mothers might have and to facilitate their cooperation. The observers were instructed to discuss fully with the mothers any apprehension they may have felt about the home visit.

Description of the Home Visit

Observation of mother-child interaction in the home setting, using the HVSA, occurred during periods in which maximum parent-child verbal exchanges and divergencies were expected to occur--dinnertime, bath time, and bed time (Bernstein, 1961; Baumrind, 1967). The specific time of the observation periods was determined by interviewing the mother prior to the home visit regarding routine activities of the family; most of the observation periods lasted from just before dinner to the child's bedtime. Each home was visited twice, at approximate intervals of one week, with observation periods lasting three hours for each visit.

Mothers were told that the observer could not socialize during the period of observation and that the observer would handle the children's overtures, should they occur, herself. Although the range of behavior shown by the mothers toward their children was very broad and included instances of spanking, screaming, and intimate affection, it was assumed that fewer instances of such extreme behavior, particularly negative behavior, occurred in the presence of an observer than would otherwise have occurred.

During the home visits the observers recorded in written narrative and on audiotapes all mother-child interactions. The narrative records were transcribed and used in conjunction with the audiotapes for coding the HVSA.

The Parent Interview, aimed at obtaining additional information about the mother's beliefs, attitudes and actual childrearing practices, was conducted during the first home visit prior to the observation period. Originally, it was intended that the parent interview be carried out after the observation periods had concluded in order to avoid deliberate attempts by the mother to behave in a manner consistent with reported beliefs and practices. A pilot study of four families, however, found the opposite to be the case. When interviewed after the conclusion of the observation periods, mothers tended to respond to interview questions with justifications for their actual behavior. Pre-observation interviews, on the other hand, eliminated this contamination of interview data, and it was found that the observation periods were of sufficient length and involved sufficient intensity of mother-child interaction that the mothers tended to behave in a manner which indicated an established behavior pattern.

The Adjustment Interview was conducted in the home following the observation period during the second visit. All responses were recorded on the interview schedule. All of the mothers responded with apparent frankness to the questions in the interview, even those regarding relatively intimate aspects of their lives. It is believed that their frankness was due largely to the familiarity and rapport established between the observer-interviewers and the mothers by the time of this interview.

The CPI questionnaire was left with the mother at the time of the second visit, to be completed by her and returned within one week. Seventeen of the questionnaires were completed and returned: nine from Pattern A mothers; eight from Pattern B mothers.

Technical Equipment

For the home visits, the observers were equipped with cassette tape recorders. With the mother's permission, all of the verbal interaction during the observation periods and the mother's responses to the parent interview were recorded.

Statistical Analysis

Reliability Checks

Reliability estimates for the HVSA coding and for ratings of the adjustment interview were computed as follows:

Inter-coder reliability for the HVSA. Thirty percent of the transcripts were coded by a second person trained in HVSA coding. These transcripts represented equal sampling of the three observers' protocol reports from the home visits. Reliabilities consisted of an average of the individual reliabilities obtained on variables A-J, using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. The inter-coder reliabilities obtained in this manner were as follows:

Between coders X and Y--r. = .83

Between coders X and Z--r. = .92

Between coders Y and Z--r. = .88

Inter-rater reliability for the Adjustment Interview. Thirty percent of the interview transcripts were scored by three raters. Reliabilities consisted of an average of the individual reliabilities obtained on the five adjustment scales, using percentage of agreement. The inter-rater reliabilities obtained in this manner were as follows:

Between raters X and Y--73%

Between raters X and Z--80%

Between raters Y and Z--73%

In addition, there was no more than one point difference on 87% of the individual reliabilities.

Analysis

In the analysis of the results, "childrearing practices" is represented by the sequence scores obtained on the HVSA and "adjustment" is represented by the scores obtained on the Adjustment Scales.

The Mann-Whitney U test (Siegel, 1956) was employed to test the hypotheses that mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher overall scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the four dimensions of maternal childrearing practices and on the five variables defining maternal adjustment.

The Mann-Whitney U is used to test whether two independent groups have been drawn from the same population. It is the most useful non-parametric alternative to the parametric t-test when the measurement is weaker than interval scaling. U is obtained by combining the scores from both groups and ranking these in order of increasing size. The value of U is given by the number of times that a score in the group with n_2 cases precedes a score in the group with n_1 cases in the ranking:

$$U = n_1 n_2 + \frac{n_1(n_1+1)}{2} - R_1$$

where R_1 = sum of the ranks assigned to the group whose sample size is n_1 (Siegel, 1956).

An alpha level of .05 was used to determine the significance of the value of U for a one-tailed test.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results of this study are reported in two sections. The first section contains the results for Hypotheses I-IV concerning maternal childrearing practices, followed by related additional findings from the parent interview. The second section contains the results for Hypotheses V-IX concerning maternal adjustment, followed by additional findings regarding personality characteristics of the subjects.

Maternal Childrearing Practices

Hypothesis I

Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the behavior variables defining Maturity Demands.

Table 2

Pattern Comparisons and Mann-Whitney Test of Differences for the Behavior Variables Defining Maturity Demands

Variable	Pattern, Mean, and Standard Deviation Pattern A $\bar{X}$	S.D.	Pattern B $\bar{X}$	S.D.	Mann-Whitney Test U^a	p
A. Independence-training: control	15.30	11.03	7.60	5.87	26	<.05
B. Independence-training: noncontrol	62.50	17.43	46.50	18.47	26	<.05
C. Respects child's decision	41.80	39.85	6.28	10.03	27	.05

[a] Critical U value for a one-tailed test at .05 level = 27; n_1 = 10, n_2 = 10.

Hypothesis I has been supported in as much as the differences are significant at the .05 level.

Hypothesis II

Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the behavior variables defining Nurturance.

Table 3

Pattern Comparisons and Mann-Whitney Test of Differences for the Behavior Variables Defining Nurturance

	Pattern, Mean, and Standard Deviation				Mann-Whitney Test	
	Pattern A		Pattern B			
Variable	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	U^a	p
D. Satisfies child	90.6	10.88	54.8	16.75	4	<.001
E. Supports child	94.4	5.89	45.13	20.37	0	.000

[a] Critical U value for a one-tailed test at .001 level = 10; $n_1 = 10$, $n_2 = 10$.

Hypothesis II has been supported in as much as the differences are significant at the .001 level.

Hypothesis III

Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the behavior variables defining Control.

Table 4

Pattern Comparisons and Mann-Whitney Test of Differences for the Behavior Variables Defining Control

Variable	Pattern, Mean, and Standard Deviation				Mann-Whitney Test	
	Pattern A		Pattern B			
	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	U^a	p
F. Positive outcome	83.40	12.66	75.95	17.73	36	n.s.
G. Does not accept power conflict with child	81.80	13.49	78.55	6.87	46	n.s.

[a] Critical U value for a one-tailed test at .05 level = 27; $n_1 = 10$, $n_2 = 10$.

Hypothesis III is not supported in that the differences are not significant at the .05 level.

Hypothesis IV

Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the behavior variables defining Communication.

Table 5

Pattern Comparisons and Mann-Whitney Test of Differences for the Behavior Variables Defining Communication

Variable	Pattern, Mean, and Standard Deviation Pattern A $\bar{X}$	 S.D.	 Pattern B $\bar{X}$	 S.D.	Mann-Whitney Test U^a	 p
H. Uses reason to obtain compliance	38.70	13.95	20.85	7.17	11	<.01
I. Encourages verbal give and take	49.10	28.12	25.70	9.70	22	<.025

[a] Critical U value for a one-tailed test at .01 level = 19; at .025 level = 23; $n_1 = 10$, $n_2 = 10$.

Hypothesis IV has been supported in as much as the differences are significant at the .025 level.

Summary of Results for Hypotheses I to IV

To provide a visual picture of the results, the mean scores for each group of mothers on the four dimensions of maternal behavior are presented in Figure 1. The group profiles illustrate graphically the comparisons shown in Tables 2-5. Mean scores for mothers of Pattern A children are higher on all dimensions except control by comparison with mean scores for mothers of Pattern B children. Both groups of mothers have similarly high scores on the control dimension. The most striking between-group difference is on the nurturance dimension, for which mothers of Pattern A children have their highest mean score.

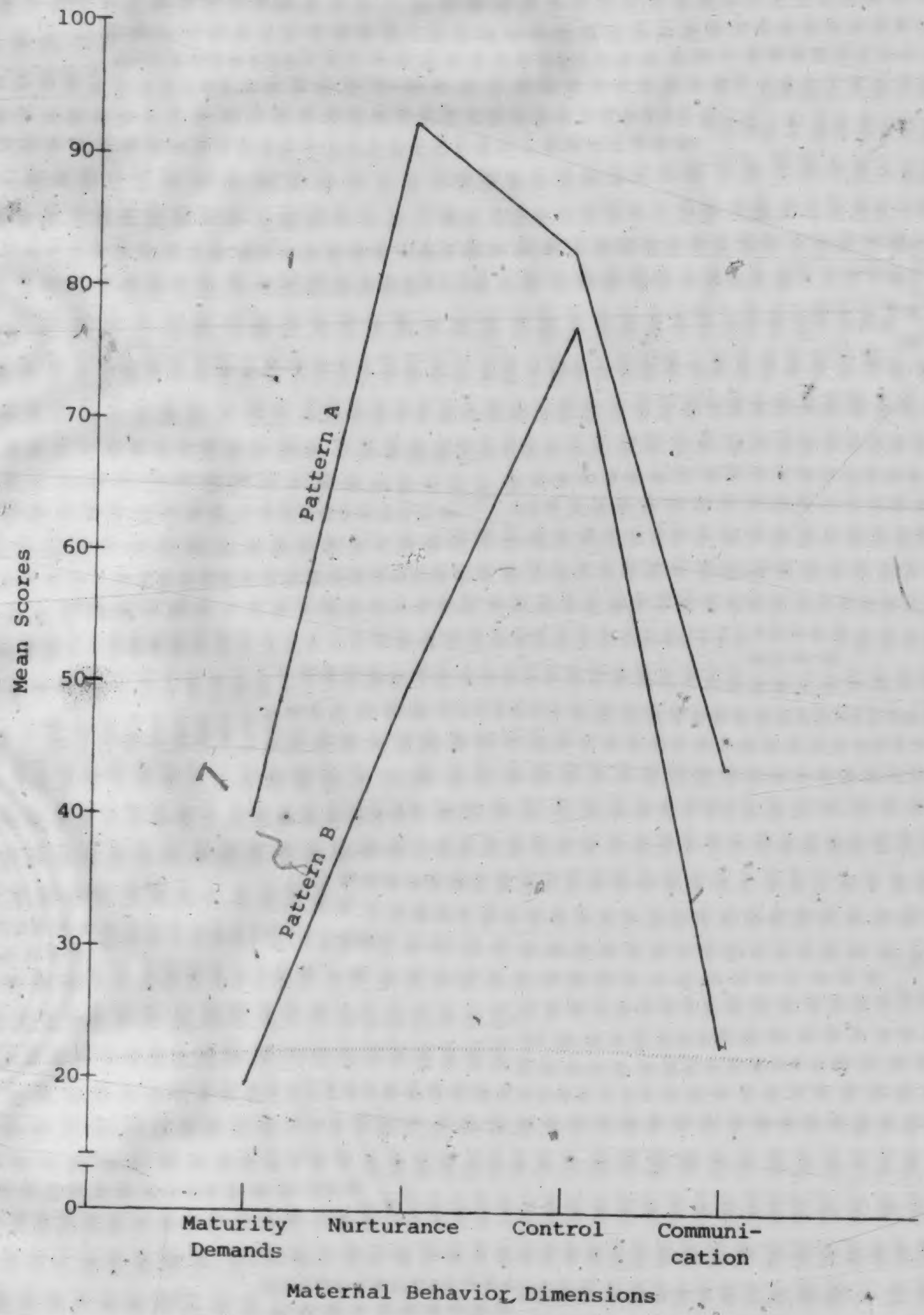

Figure 1: Profile of Composited Behavior Dimension Scores for Each Pattern

Additional Findings: Parent Interview

Significant pattern differences as measured by the Parent Interview Scales appear in Table 6. Interview data generally support the findings for Hypotheses I-IV. In comparison with mothers of Pattern B children, mothers of Pattern A children expressed more nurturant attitudes toward their children (with significantly higher scores on 65% of the nurturance scales); they reported greater communication with their children (with significantly higher scores on 66% of the communication scales); and they reported a higher degree of independence-granting (with significantly higher scores on 66.7% of the independence-granting scales), although no pattern differences were found for reported independence-training. Significant pattern differences were found on only 9% of the interview scales related to maternal control, with mothers of Pattern B children reporting greater use of corporal punishment with their children than mothers of Pattern A children.

Table 6

Significant Pattern Differences for the Parent Interview Scales

Scale	Pattern, Mean and Standard Deviation				Mann-Whitney Test	
	Pattern A		Pattern B			
	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	U^a	p
10. Negative Sanctions: Corporal punishment	2.1	.88	4.0	1.25	14	<.02

(Continued ⟶)

	Pattern, Mean and Standard Deviation				Mann-Whitney Test	
	Pattern A		Pattern B			
Scale	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	U[a]	p
23. Consistency: Childrearing attitudes	4.7	.67	2.5	1.43	15	<.02
28. Reason for restrictions: Child's welfare	4.5	.53	3.1	.99	8	<.002
33. Maturity Demands: Conscience	3.6	.57	4.7	.48	18	<.02
34. Maturity Demands: Permissiveness for exploration and experimentation	4.4	1.65	3.0	.94	17	<.02
38. Permission for Independence: Encourages contact with other adults	4.4	.70	3.1	.88	21	<.05
40. Communication: Attentiveness	4.9	.32	2.7	1.06	2	<.001
42. Tolerance of verbal protest	4.8	.42	3.6	.84	22	<.05
44. Use of reasoning	4.8	.42	3.2	1.40	22	<.05
45. Individual character of child perceived	4.6	.52	3.5	.85	22	<.05
46. Warmth: Presence of a loving relationship	4.6	.52	2.5	.97	8	<.002
48. Warmth: Approval	4.3	.48	2.9	.74	14	<.02
49. Warmth: Absence of hostility	4.9	.32	2.9	1.29	20	<.05
50. Warmth: Empathy	4.2	.79	2.5	1.08	22	<.05
51. Warmth: Sympathy	4.3	.48	2.8	.63	7	<.002

[a] Critical U values for a two-tailed test are as follows: .05 level=23, .02 level=19, .002 level=10, .001 level=6, $n_1=10$, $n_2=10$.

Maternal Adjustment

Hypothesis V

Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the adjustment scale defining Self-Esteem.

Table 7

Pattern Comparison and Mann-Whitney Test of Difference for the Adjustment Scale Defining Self-Esteem

Pattern	Mean and Standard Deviation $\bar{X}$	S.D.	Mann-Whitney Test U^a	p
A	4.0	.82	15	<.01
B	2.4	.97		

[a] Critical U value for a one-tailed test at .01 level=19; n_1=10, n_2=10.

Hypothesis V has been supported in as much as the difference is significant at the .01 level.

Hypothesis VI

Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the adjustment scale defining Social Contact.

Table 8

Pattern Comparison and Mann-Whitney Test of Difference for the Adjustment Scale Defining Social Contact

Pattern	Mean and Standard Deviation $\overline{X}$	S.D.	Mann-Whitney Test U^a	p
A	4.4	.52	16	<.01
B	2.7	1.25		

[a]Critical U value for a one-tailed test at .01 level=19, $n_1=10$, $n_2=10$.

Hypothesis VI has been supported in as much as the difference is significant at the .01 level.

Hypothesis VII

Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the adjustment scale defining Practical Adjustment.

Table 9

Pattern Comparison and Mann-Whitney Test of Difference for the Adjustment Scale Defining Practical Adjustment

Pattern	Mean and Standard Deviation $\bar{X}$	S.D.	Mann-Whitney Test U^a	p
A	2.7	.82	47	n.s.
B	2.1	.88		

[a] Critical U value for a one-tailed test at .05 level=27; n_1=10, n_2=10.

Hypothesis VII has not been supported in that the difference is not significant at the .05 level.

Hypothesis VIII

Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the adjustment scale defining Perception of Child's Adjustment.

Table 10

Pattern Comparison and Mann-Whitney Test of Difference for the Adjustment Scale Defining Perception of Child's Adjustment

Pattern	Mean and Standard Deviation $\bar{X}$	S.D.	Mann-Whitney Test U^a	p
A	4.4	.52	16	<.01
B	2.6	1.26		

[a] Critical U value for a one-tailed test at .01 level=19; $n_1=10$, $n_2=10$.

Hypothesis VIII has been supported in as much as the difference is significant at the .01 level.

Hypothesis IX

Mothers of Pattern A children will have significantly higher scores than will mothers of Pattern B children on the adjustment scale defining Attitude Toward Men.

Table 11

Pattern Comparison and Mann-Whitney Test of Difference for the Adjustment Scale Defining Attitude Toward Men

Pattern	Mean and Standard Deviation $\bar{X}$	S.D.	Mann-Whitney Test U^a	p
A	4.2	.92	24	<.05
B	2.8	1.03		

[a] Critical U value for a one-tailed test at .05 level=27; n_1=10, n_2=10.

Hypothesis IX has been supported in as much as the difference is significant at the .05 level.

Summary of Results for Hypotheses V-IX

Figure 2 contains the mean scores for each group of mothers on the five variables of maternal adjustment, illustrating graphically the comparisons shown in Tables 6-11. Mean scores for mothers of Pattern A children are uniformly high on all variables except practical adjustment in comparison with mean scores for mothers of Pattern B children. Both groups of mothers have similarly low scores on the practical adjustment variable, which are the lowest scores shown.

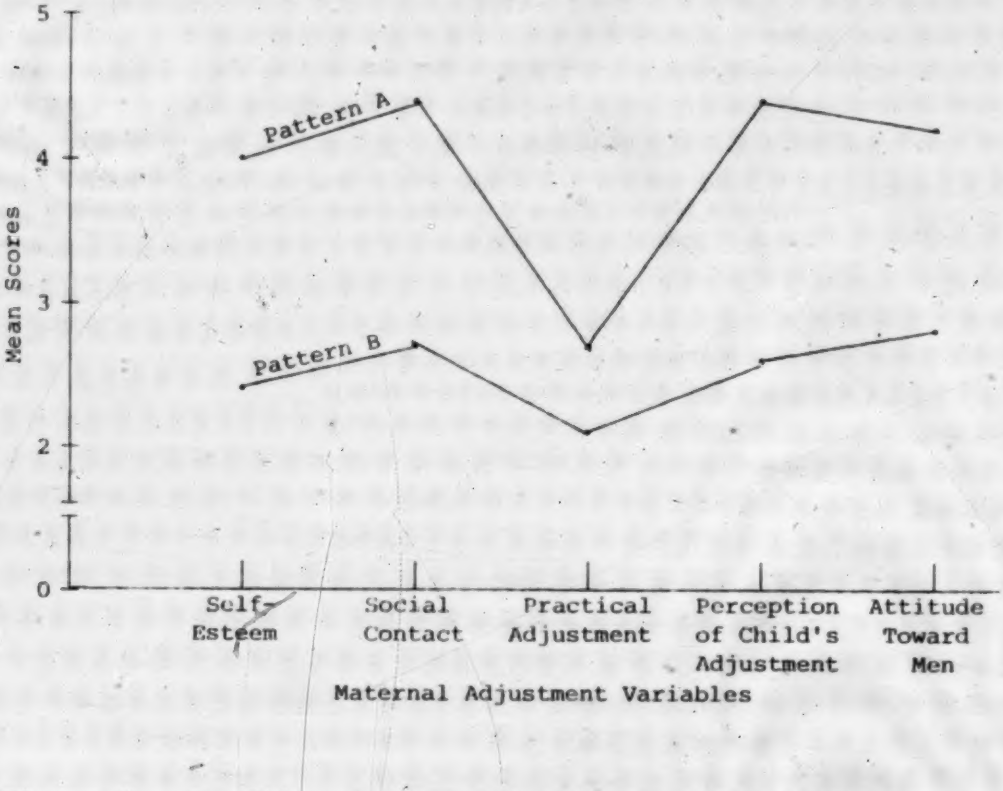

Figure 2. Profile of Maternal Adjustment Variable Scores for Each Pattern

Additional Findings: California Psychological Inventory (CPI), Class I and Class II Scales

Appendix F contains U values from the Mann-Whitney test of differences between Pattern A and Pattern B mothers on the CPI Class I and Class II scales. No significant pattern differences were found for any of the scales. It was therefore concluded that personality characteristics were not a probable causative factor in the pattern differences found on the maternal adjustment variables (Hypothesis V-IX).

Appendix F also contains mean score pattern comparisons in both tabular and profile form, the latter contrasted with the profile of female mean standard scores. All individual scores on the CPI scales were within the normal range for females.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Two groups of father-absent children were identified for this study. Pattern A children were self-controlled, self-reliant and explorative, and related well with their peers. They did not manifest detrimental consequences to their personality development as a result of father-absence. Pattern B children, in contrast, lacked self-control and self-reliance, tended to avoid novel experiences, and generally had poor peer relationships. They demonstrated behavior which previous research has reported to result from father-absence. The objective of this study was the investigation of maternal variables that were associated with these different patterns of behavior in father-absent children. It was hypothesized that mothers of the competent (Pattern A) children would have significantly higher scores on selected measures of childrearing practices and adjustment than would mothers of the dysfunctional (Pattern B) children.

In as much as the findings generally supported the hypotheses, it is believed that the major objective has been met. While the results cannot be viewed as having demonstrated a causal relationship between the maternal variables assessed in this study and the father-absent child's personality development, the findings clearly demonstrate significant differences between mothers of Pattern A and Pattern B children.

Childrearing Practices Associated with Pattern A and Pattern B Child Behavior

Pattern A children were both socialized and independent. They were self-controlled and affiliative, self-reliant, explorative and self-assertive. In sum, they were competent and content.

Pattern B children were lacking in self-control and self-reliance by comparison with other children of their age level. They were less affiliative toward peers and more likely to become hostile or withdrawn.

The magnitude of group differences for their mothers on all but one of the behavior dimensions assessed in this study were similarly discrepant. The mothers of Pattern A children were more supportive of and communicated more clearly with their children. They engaged in significantly more independence-training and independence-granting than did mothers of Pattern B children. Directives were usually accompanied by a reason and the mother generally responded to divergence by the use of reason and argument rather than power. Interview data supported these observational findings, generally demonstrating consistence between the actual behavior, reported behavior and attitudes of Pattern A mothers.

Mothers of Pattern B children, by comparison, offered little support or affection to their children, engaged in little independence-training and independence-granting, and used power rather than reason to enforce their directives. According to interview data, their attitudes were less sympathetic and approving than those of Pattern A mothers and they expressed a tendency to use corporal punishment as a negative sanction. Their expressed non-nurturant attitudes were reflected in their observed behavior.

The one behavior dimension on which the two groups of mothers did not show a significant difference was the control dimension. The results show that the absence of significant differences between the groups on the variables defining control was due, not to low control by Pattern A mothers, but to the similarly high levels of maternal control demonstrated by both groups. For Pattern B mothers, the control dimension was that on which they obtained their highest scores, markedly higher than on any other dimension. Pattern A mothers were also controlling, but unlike Pattern B mothers, they were warm, rational and receptive to the child's communication. This combination of high control and positive encouragement of the child's autonomous and independent strivings is similar to that found by Baumrind (1967) in her study of parental correlates of instrumental competence in father-present children.

The most significant difference between Pattern A and Pattern B mothers was on the dimension of nurturance. According to McCandless (1968) nurturance is an important socializing agent because it is the

> climate of nurturance or comfort giving, love power, that makes many of the other types of (socializing) power effective. (p. 160)

Pattern B mothers, while they demonstrated a relatively wide within-group variation of nurturant behavior, were notably less nurturant as a group than even the least nurturant of Pattern A mothers. Unlike Pattern A mothers, they did not balance high control with high nurturance, and they neither encouraged nor permitted independence strivings by the child. Their pattern of childrearing appears to be one of overprotective, authoritarian control.

This pattern of overprotection and high control did not appear for the mothers of the highly competent children. Pattern A mothers enforced directives but they did not overprotect or overrestrict the child. Compared with the mothers of Pattern B children, they engaged in significantly more independence-training and independence-granting, the two elements of maturity demands generally associated with the fathering role. Hoffman (1960) has described the difference between "mothering" and "fathering" as the difference between making the child feel "warm and cozy" and equipping the child to "face the world" (p. 132). The mothers of Pattern A children, however, while they manifested a high level of nurturance toward the child, also demonstrated an ability to equip the child to "face the world" through the combination of affection with maturity demands. Their children did not demonstrate the behavior generally associated with paternal deprivation, but were both sociable and independent.

Maternal Adjustment Associated with Pattern A and Pattern B Child Behavior

It was hypothesized that the mothers of highly competent (Pattern A) children would have a significantly higher level of adjustment than mothers of dysfunctional (Pattern B) children with regard to problems--both real and perceived--which they experienced as single parents. Tooley (1976) reported that the divorced mother may find her new socio-psychological world frightening and unmanageable, and concluded that a deep social alienation may result between the family and the larger society. The findings of the present study strongly suggest that the mothers of Pattern B children may have experienced such alienation. They were more socially isolated, expressed greater feelings of hostility toward men and held themselves in lower esteem than did the mothers of Pattern A children.

Social isolation for the mother provides the setting for much greater intensity in the mother-child relationship (Glasser and Navarre, 1965; Anthony, 1974).

Moreover, a model of self-assurance and competence is thereby absent from the child's closest relationship, making it especially difficult for the child to develop such qualities (Bandura and Walters, 1963; Kantor and Lehr, 1975).

The direct effect of such a situation on the father-absent child is primarily conjecture, however. It is known that the loss of one parent removes a large portion of the emotional balance and intensifies the influence of the remaining parent upon the child. Whether the primary problems of adjustment found in the present study are causal factors in the interaction patterns between Pattern B mothers and their children remains unknown. It is believed by the investigator, however, that the objective aspects of society which are negative or positive forces on the child enter the child's life at first indirectly, through their effect on the mother.

In a recent study, Cohler *et al.* (1975) emphasized the view that perceived life-stress has a significant impact on psychological functioning. The study was concerned with women who had spent some time in a psychiatric hospital, and hence reported relatively severe effects of stress as compared with the present investigation. However, it did point to several factors--such as social deviance and the woman's being less settled in the community--which are similar to the present study's measure of social isolation. Cohler *et al.* found that

> women reporting greater stress in their own lives feel more withdrawn from others [and] feel more futile about their own lives.
>
> (p. 66)

These responses were similar to those given by mothers of Pattern B children in the present study. The childrearing practices of these mothers indicated that their children were not reinforced for competent behavior, nor did the mothers serve as models of competence for imitation by their children.

Both groups of mothers had their lowest scores on the adjustment variable defining practical adjustment. This variable describes problems perceived by the mother relating to time, energy and financial resources available to meet her own and her child's needs. It is apparent from the findings that neither group of mothers were able to adjust to these structural limitations placed on the father-absent family. However, it is of particular interest that the mothers of the more sociable and competent father-absent children were nevertheless more sociable themselves, had higher self-esteem, and perceived few problems in the adjustment of their children.

Precautions in Interpretation of Results

The results of the present study tend to support the major hypothesis. It does not, however, follow from these results that either maternal childrearing practices or adjustment bears a positive linear relationship to instrumental competence in preschool father-absent children. The total range of child behavior was not represented in this study. Mothers of children in the middle range on the child behavior dimensions which were assessed may have quite different scores on the maternal behavior dimensions and adjustment variables measured.

In addition, the direction of cause-effect relationships can be inferred only from the successful predictions of these relationships. In interpreting the findings of this study it must be assumed that the child's individual characteristics affect both the mother's treatment of the child and the child's response, and that the individual characteristics of the mother are significant factors in her response. It would, in fact, be difficult to argue that the behavior of either the child or the mother is independent of interaction with the other.

While there has been repeated evidence that parental childrearing practices appear to be instrumental in thechild's behavior development, and that both the mother and the child are affected by the social and economic circumstances in which they live, it is also possible that the differences in maternal behavior found in this study may be accounted for as responses to the individual characteristics of the child. What may have been observed in this investigation are *mutually* reinforcing patterns of interaction developed *between* mother and child.

In other words, it is a plausible hypothesis that maternal behavior is not the central factor responsible for child behavior, but that the child "touches off" reactions in the mother. The effects of early experience on the child appear to be determined to some extent by genetic differences which underlie the physiological and behavioral differences between individuals although little as yet is known of the manner in which these differences affect behavior (e.g., Berger and Passingham, 1972; Sander, 1969; Thomas *et al*, 1968). While the investigator would argue strongly that the child does not *create* responses in the mother, it is equally likely that the mother does not create responses in the child, but that the child's responses and behavior may be a determining factor in maternal behavior towards the child.

Implications for Further Research on the Effects of Father-absence

The present study was intended primarily to provide a new direction for research on paternal deprivation, emphasizing the importance of differentiating the effects of the mother's presence from the effects of the father's absence. The absence of previous observational studies of father-absent families necessitated that the study be exploratory in nature, taking in a range of variables which previous research has suggested to be related to father-absence. Before the results of this small study can be safely generalized, a parallel study is necessary, with a larger sample and wider range of child behaviors. While this study cannot, therefore, provide clear answers to the question of why father-absent children tend to be over-represented among those characterized by the behaviors attributed to them, it does point to the likelihood that differences between these children and father-present children cannot be attributed to paternal deprivation per se.

An attempt was made to more clearly understand the phenomenon of growing up in a fatherless family and how this situation narrows or changes the pattern of interaction offered to the child. The obvious factor is the absence or presence of "fathering" available to the child.

Bowlby (1969) and Ainsworth (1969) give the term "attachment" behavior to the primarily mother-specific nurturant bond which a child forms as an infant. Kaufman (1970) points out that the difference between this bond and what he calls "paternal nurturance" is the developmentally and socially higher level of the father's nurturant behavior. Tari (1971) discussed the importance of this difference in his study of the relationship between paternal behavior and achievement motivation in preschool children. He reported that the interaction of the dimensions of nurturance and maturity demands were correlated with the highest levels of achievement motivation among the preschool children in his study.

In the present study, mothers of the highly competent children engaged in significantly more behavior related to maturity demands than did the mothers of the dysfunctional children. This finding suggests that the mothers of highly competent children may be able to compensate for the father's absence to the degree that the adverse effects which might otherwise accrue to the child are, in effect, nullified.

Competence in the children in this study was also associated with the mother's adaptation to the circumstances of the father-absent family. It is not known from this study, however, whether the mother's perceptions and behavior were a reaction to the situation of rearing children in a fatherless family or a pattern of functioning established before the father's absence. Though the measure of personality characteristics found no differences between the two groups of mothers, it was employed as an approximate measure only and the findings are not considered conclusive. It would be an error, however, to attribute solely to personality factors characteristics that may result from social, economic, and other stress factors. Moreover, it is likely that each facet of the impact of father-absence on the mother has repercussions on other facets (Herzog and Sudia, 1971). The emotional impact affects her coping ability; the social impact affects the emotional reaction; and all of these, as well as the mother's perception of her status and her role, are likely to have a serious impact on her childrearing behavior. More detailed investigation of family structure and adaptation in father-absent families may provide substantial insight into the specific impact of these factors on the socialization of the father-absent child. Growing numbers of young children are being reared in single-parent families, a situation which proved stressful for even the most well-adapted mothers in the present study as evidenced by the very low scores on practical adjustment obtained by mothers in both groups. It is possible that many of the detrimental effects attributed to father-absence may be, rather, the result of the circumstances and coping ability of the remaining parent.

Essential to a proper understanding of this complex problem is continuing study in depth of families as they function in their natural setting, as a source of fresh clues to processes not yet perceived or inaccurately perceived. Clearly, naturalistic observations possess limitations inherent in the methods. They are neither as reliable nor well-controlled as laboratory-experimental studies. Their use is justified, however, by the importance of ecological validity in making generalizations relevant to the life experience of the population under study.

In summary, while it cannot be argued that father-absence has no effect on the child, it can be argued that the impact and interaction of other variables may condition the impact so strongly as to overshadow the predictive value of the single variable of father-absence. Many of the conclusions of previous research have classified fatherless children as a homogeneous group. This study supports the need to move beyond this fallacy. Although its findings are considered tentative, it provides a basis for recognizing at least some of the maternal factors that condition the impact of father-absence on the child. It also provides a basis for rejecting many of the previous generalizations about the effects of father-absence. The study points to a need for reformulating research questions about father-absence, particularly the need to shift focus from a single variable to a cluster of interacting factors that mediate its effects. It is suggested that the most important of these factors is the most obvious--the mother.

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APPENDIX A

PRESCHOOL BEHAVIOR ITEMS
USED IN PRESELECTION OF CHILD SAMPLE
BY NURSERY SCHOOL SUPERVISORS

Preschool Behavior Items

Instructions to Nursery School Supervisors

Please provide the following information at the top of the answer sheet:

Where it says *Name*, place the child's initials.
Where it says *Age*, state the child's age in years and months.
Where it says *School*, state the length of time the child has been at this nursery school.

For the following questions, please fill in the appropriate space on the answer sheet that corresponds with your answer:

1. Child's sex: (a) male; (b) female
2. Is child: (a) an only child; (b) an eldest child; (c) a middle child; (d) the youngest child in the family?
3. Does child have: (a) brother(s); (b) sister(s); (c) both; (d) neither?

The following items refer to aspects of a child's behavior. The child is to be rated according to how characteristic this behavior is of him or her. Please fill in the space on the answer sheet corresponding with the number of your answer. If the meaning of an item seems vague to you, place a check next to that item and we can discuss it.

These are the ratings to be used for the behavior items:

(a) Not at all characteristic;
(b) Somewhat chracteristic;
(c) Frequently characteristic;
(d) Very characteristic.

The list of items is fairly long. To avoid fatigue (and, hence, error) it might be advisable to do just one page each day, rating each child on those items before going on to the next page of items.

Behavior Items

4. High energy level
5. Fatigued at school
6. Good sense of humor
7. Content, cheerful attitude

8. Confident
9. Omnipotent attitude
10. Self-abusive
11 Apprehensive
12. Accepts blame
13. Loses composure when rebuffed or unsuccessful
14. Regresses when hurt
15. Becomes hostile when hurt
16. Wants to be alone when hurt
17. Withstands much nursery school stress
18. Recovers quickly from expressions of annoyance
19. Irritable
20. Retreats from situations involving physical risk
21. Gratifies needs consonant with reality
22. Conflicted and irresolute
23. "Stretches" to meet situation when much demanded
24. Seldom spends time in fantasy
25. An interesting, arresting child
26. Does not seek overt assurances that he is liked
27. Does not enjoy himself at nursery school
28. Explores his environment actively
29. Characteristically unoccupied
30. Gives his/her best to work and play
31. Does not become pleasurably involved in tasks
32. Careful Work
33. Impetuous
34. Sets himself/herself difficult tasks
35. Undiscriminating
36. Disoriented
37. Likes to learn new skills
38. Does not persevere when encounters frustration
39. Follows standard operating procedure
40. Samples activities eimlessly
41. Self-reliant
42. Exploitive of dependent state
43. Self-starting
44. Expresses interest in preprimer skills

45. Has difficulty establishing relationship with adult other than mother
46 Helps other children to adapt
47. Acts in an impulsive manner
48. Tends to cry on slight provocation
49. Does not regret wrongdoing
50. Sets goals for himself/herself which are easy
51. Practices a skill or works persistently at objective
52. Not easily intimidated
53. Shy in an unfamiliar setting
54. Generally direct and at ease
55. Personality is such as to antagonize adults so that they want to withhold support
56. Other children seek his/her help
57. Dependable, trustworthy, responsible
58. Possessive
59. Inconsiderate
60. Tattles or informs on other children
61. Guileful
62. Needlessly disrespectful to adults
63. Obstructive
64. Affiliative and supportive
65. Able to get what he/she wants from another child by persuasion
66. Boasts
67. Gregarious, enjoys company of other children
68. Able to form close friendships
69. Takes initiative in making friendly overtures
70. Nurturant
71. Warm, relating, affectionate attitude toward nursery school staff
72. Verbally aggressive with peers
73. Physically aggressive with peers
74. Emotionally stable; appropriate emotional responses
75. Easily dominated in play
76. Persistent in completing a task
77. Dexterous, smooth coordination of small muscles
78. Bright in problem solving; intelligent
79. Indecisive
80. Confident in abilities

81. Pays attention in teacher-directed group activities
82. Initiates activities for himself/herself
83. Seeks undue amount of reassurance; dependent
84. Graceful
86. Passive with peers in free play
86. Builds with blocks
87. Obedient to school rules that conflict with an action that the child is motivated to perform, under circumstances where such prohibitions are known to the child
88. Ability to sustain a work effort
89. Capacity to wait his/her turn in play with other children or in use of washroom facilities
90. Ability to restrain those expressions of excitement or anger that would be disruptive or destructive to the peer group
91. Low variability of self-control as shown by absense of explosive emotional expression or swings between high and low control.
92. Vigor and involvement with which child reacts to his normal environment
93. Preference for stimulating activities, such as rough and tumble games or climbing and balancing
94. Interest in exploring the potentialities of a new environment
95. Tendency to seek out experiences with challenge (e.g., tasks which are new for the child, or cognitive problems at the upper limits of his/her ability)
96. Tendency to attack an obstacle to a goal rather than retreat from the goal
97. Happy involvement in nursery school activities (whether in a lively or in a contented, secure manner
98. Anxious, hostile, and unhappy peer relations and low involvement in nursery school activities (whether in an angry, obstructive manner or in a fearful, bored, or subdued manner)
99. Easy separation from parents
100. Matter-of-fact rather than dependent manner of relating to nursery school teachers, especially when seeking help
101. Willing to be alone at times
102. Expresses pleasure in learning how to master new tasks
103. Resistant to encroachment of other children
104. Leadership interest and ability
105. Interest expressed in making decisions and choices which affect him/her

106. Expresses trust in peers and expects to be treated by them in an affiliative manner

107. Expresses affection congruent with the particular peer relationship

108. Engages cooperatively on group activities

109. *Absence* of sadistic, hostile, or unprovoked aggressive behavior toward playmates

APPENDIX B

CHILD BEHAVIOR RATING SCALES

Ratings:

1. Not characteristic. Child very rarely or never behaves in this manner.
2. Occasionally occurring. This behavior has been observed on occasion, but is not a likely occurrence.
3. Intermediate.
4. Frequently occurring. Child often behaves in this manner, though not consistently.
5. Very characteristic. Child consistently and reliably behaves this way.

Self-Control:

1. Tendency to control impulse to act in those situations where supervisor has prohibited such behavior.
2. Ability to sustain a work effort (e.g., not easily distracted from tasks).
3. Capacity to wait his/her turn in play with other children or in use of washroom facilities.
4. Ability to restrain those expressions of excitement or anger that would be disruptive to the rest of the group.
5. Has periods of explosive emotional expression.

Approach-Avoidance:

6. Reacts to his/her normal environment with vigor and involvement.
7. Prefers stimulating activities, such as rough-and-tumble games or climbing and balancing.
8. Shows interest in exploring new situations (e.g., strangers in room).
9. Has tendency to seek out challenging experiences (e.g., tasks which are new for the child; difficult cognitive problems).
10. Tends to attack an obstacle to a goal rather than retreat from the goal (frustration tolerance).

Mood:

11. Shows happy involvement in nursery school activities. (If child is outgoing, he/she may appear lively and perhaps aggressively good humored. If less outgoing, child may appear contemplative and privately engrossed in a contented, secure manner.)

12. Shows anxious hostile, and unhappy relations with the other children and low involvement in nursery school activities. (If child is outgoing, he/she may appear angry, punishing, and obstructive. If less outgoing, the child may appear fearful, bored, or timid.)

Self-Reliance:

13. Relates to nursery school staff and observer in a matter-of-fact rather than dependent manner, especially when seeking help (i.e., does not seek help as a way of relating to others or of avoiding effort, but as a means of achieving a goal or learning a new technique).
14. Child is willing to be alone at times.
15. Expresses pleasure in learning how to master new tasks.
16. Expresses interest in making decisions and choices which affect him/her.
17. Shows leadership interest and ability (i.e., child attempts to influence the activity of other children and others willingly follow him/her).

Peer Affiliation:

18. Expresses the expectation of being treated fairly by the other children.
19. Expresses affection toward other children, without being indiscriminately affectionate to everyone.
20. Expresses sadistic, hostile, or unprovoked behavior toward playmates.
21. Child is cooperative in group activities.

Checklist of Affective Responses to Presence of Observers

a) shows interest
b) smiles happily
c) looks wary
d) neutral affect
e) freezes
f) frowns
g) looks afraid
h) hostile

APPENDIX C

HOME VISIT SEQUENCE ANALYSIS (HVSA)

1. HVSA Categories of Behavior
2. Sample Sequence Analysis Coding Form

J. Categories of Behavior

HVSA Category

1. Type I: Control sequences, parent-initiated

    Participant code
    - MS Mother to subject
    - MG Mother to sister
    - MB Bother to brother

    Message Code
    - K Factual knowledge about the world
    - D Cognitive insight into cause and effect relations
    - I Alteration of immediate behavior

    Control rating for initiating act
    - Degree of power
    - 1 Directive
        - 1 Directive without reason
        - 1X Directive with reason
    - 2 Persuasive
        - 2X Persuasion with realistic reason added
        - 2Y Indirect manipulation with source of power disguised
        - 2Z Appeal made to social or religious mores binding parent and child
    - 3 Coercive
        - 3 Coercive without reason
        - 3X Coercive with reason

    Kind of incentive
    - a Positive--parent promises approval, etc., contingent upon a given action
    - b Negative--parent threatens disapproval, etc., contingent upon a given action

    Control-outcome rating
    - Interpersonal maneuvers preceding compliance
        - √1 Child complies immediately without a second parental demand
        - √2 Parent repeats directive without increasing power
        - √3 Child does not comply immediately, parent increases power
        - √4 Parent meets some of child's objections
        - √5 None of the above conditions exist; child complies
    - Interpersonal maneuvers preceding noncompliance
        - X1 Parent repeats directive without increasing power
        - X2 Parent increases power and still child does not comply
        - X3 Parent meets some of child's objections
        - X4 Parent does not persist--evades control conflict
        - X5 Parent does not persist--respects child's decision
        - X6 None of the above; child does not comply

2. Type II: Control sequences, child initiated

Participant code

SM	Subject to mother
GM	Sister to mother
BM	Brother to mother

Message Code

S	Seeks support, nurturance or (S) seeks attention
K	Seeks information
D	Demands right to make a choice or act autonomously
P	Seeks to involve parent in play
I	Other demand

Control rating for initiating act

1	Minimum--child asks
2	Medium --child begs or pleads
3	Maximum--child demands by screaming or whining persistently

Parent reaction

Interpersonal maneuvers preceding compliance

√1	Parent complies willingly
√2	Parent complies reluctantly in response to child's nuisance value
√3	Parent promises to comply in future and does
√4	Parent complies after realistic argument with child

Interpersonal maneuvers preceding noncompliance

X1	Parent refuses, child does not continue demanding
X2	Parent refuses and continues to refuse although child continues to demand
X3	Parent refuses giving child a reality congruent reason or offers an alternative
X4	Parent refuses and employs threat or negative sanction to quiet child
X5	Parent evades child's request

Child satisfaction

√	Child expresses satisfaction with parent's response
X	Child expresses dissatisfaction by continued demands or irritability
0	Child satisfaction not rated

3. Type III: Noncontrol sequences, parent-initiated

Participant code

MS	Mother to subject
MG or MB	Mother to sister or brother

Message code

S	Support or nurturance
R	Positive reinforcement offered for action completed
P	Negative reinforcement imposed for action completed

3. Message code, cont'd.

K	Exchange of information
I	Child's social skills are advanced
D	Child chooses form of action or makes a decision after parent-child discussion
Pl	Play
C	Conversation
O	Other, including simple conversation

Child satisfaction

✓	Child expresses satisfaction with parent's response
X	Child expresses dissatisfaction by continued demands or irritability
0	Child satisfaction not rated

Sequence Analysis Coding Form

Type I Sequence					
Seq. No.	Parti-ci-pants	Mes-sage	Cont.Rating Init.Act		Control Outcome
			Pow.	Inc.	
1	MC	I	2Y		X4
2	MC	I	1X		√2
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4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
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11					
12					
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Type II Sequence						
Seq. No.	Parti-ci-pants	Mes-sage	Cont.Rating Init.Act		Par. Reac-tion	Satis-fac-tion
			Pow.	Inc.		
1	CM	P	1		√1	√
2	CM	D	1		√1	√
3	CM	K	1		√1	0
4						
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Type III Sequence			
Seq. No.	Parti-ci-pants	Mes-sage	Satis-fac-tion
1	MC	K	√
2	MC	K	0
3	MC	K	√
4			
5			
6			
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APPENDIX D

PARENT INTERVIEW

1. Parent Interview Schedule
2. Parent Interview Scales

1. Parent Interview Schedule

Beliefs and Attitudes

Control

1. What do you think are the best ways of managing the behavior of children:

   Do you think children's behavior *ought* to be managed?

   (Probes--ways of managing behavior):

   (a) spanking; (b) completely disregarding; (c) letting him know you are hurt; (d) behaving coldly; (3) sending to room; (f) depriving him of privileges (like watching TV or playing with a favorite toy).

2. Do you believe that parents know what is best for their children by and large? Do you think that children should obey their parents?

   Why?

   (If parent replies affirmatively the following probes are appropriate):

   (a) respect for parents; (b) higher morality (religious sanctions); (c) parent's rights and conveniences; (d) child's immediate safety and welfare; (e) conformity to what is expected; (f) consideration for others; (g) child's best interests in the long run.

   (If parent replies negatively the following probes are appropriate):

   (a) child's right to make *own* decisions; (b) parent's uncertainty as to what is right; (c) parent's reluctance to enforce own standards.

3. Some parents expect their children to obey immediately when they are directed to do something. Others do not think it's terribly important for a child to obey right away. How do you feel about this?

4. Do you think that parents should supervise the activities of their children rather closely or do you think that the reins should be held rather loosely?

   (Probes--types of supervision):

   (a) knowing who the child's friends are and censoring the choice of friends; (b) knowing whereabouts of the child--how often does parent check; (c) checking to see that parental directives are carried out.

5. Would you say that you have a position about child-raising, a way of bringing up children which helps to guide you? Is this position related to a broader philosophical or religious position?

(Probe for):

(a) permissiveness contrasted with directiveness as a general position; (b) source of values (religious, philosophical, practical day-to-day, welfare of the community, social conformity).

Maturity Demands

6. In what areas, if any, do you think children between 3-6 should be able to make decisions affecting their own behavior?

(Probe for):

(a) choice of clothes; (b) choice of bedtime; (c) how much and what kind of food.

7. Do you think that a child should learn to be self-sufficient in an area as soon as he is able?

(Probe for age when):

(a) child is expected to dress self; (b) child is expected to do some chores.

8. Do you think that a child should be asked to share in the work of the household?

(Probe):

(a) chores expected at age 3, 5, 7 years; (b) chores expected at age of parent's own children.

9. How much would you expect in the way of conscience development from a 4-6 year old?

(Probe):

(a) injury to another child; (b) not telling the truth.

Communication

10. Do you believe that a child should be allowed to disagree openly with his parents? Should he be encouraged to be forthright about his likes and dislikes about such things as:

(Probe):

(a) what has been prepared for dinner; (b) his parent's appearance; (c) how his parents treat him.

11. Do you believe that parents should express their negative feelings to the child just as he feels them or should he control what and how he communicates to the child?

(Probe):

(a) regarding the conduct of the child; (b) regarding how the actions of the child make him feel; (c) regarding his feelings about the child in general.

Nurturance

12. How about their positive feelings? How openly affectionate should parents be?

(Probes):

(a) appropriateness of physical expression--hugs and kisses; (b) verbal approval.

13. How much do you think parents ought to put themselves out to provide special comforts and pleasures for their children?

(Probes--examples):

(a) to please them with gifts or amusement; (b) to keep them constructively occupied; (c) to bring them places--e.g., dance class; (d) to read to them, play with them.

14. There are always times when the needs of children seem to conflict with the parent's welfare. Are there times when that happens in your house?

(Probes):

(a) conflicts with mother's wishes, such as quiet; (b) parent's own need to rest; (c) what should happen when the child wants to do something that the parent does not enjoy.

Performance

1. Could you describe ______ to me? Give me a picture of what he is like?

(Probes):

(a) what parent likes and would like to preserve, dislikes and would like to change about child; (b) what child's own interests and aversions are; (c) child's peer relations; (d) child's behavior with adults.

2. What sorts of things do you talk about with ______?

(Probes):

(a) What kinds of questions does he ask? (b) Do you like to answer his questions? (c) How much of what you say does he understand?

3. Do you allow _____ to argue with you if he disagrees with you when you tell him to do something?

(a) Do you let him speak angrily to you? (b) Do you allow him to use insulting language, call you "stupid" or such names?

Control

4. What do you do to get _____ to behave as you want him to behave? What works best?

(Probes):

(a) send to room; (deprive him of privileges such as watching TV; (c) scolding (What kinds of things do you say?); (d) making him feel silly or ashamed; (e) spanking.

5. How much do you try to explain things to him and reason with him?

6. What do you do if he is unusally good? Do you let him know you are pleased? How?

(Probes):
(a) special privileges; (b) material rewards.

7. We would like to get some idea of the sort of rules you have for ______, the sort of things he is allowed to do and the sort of things he is not allowed to do. What are some of the rules?

(Probes):

(a) bedtime--hour he is to be in bed, leniency about deviating; (b) making noise in the house; (c) comportment away from home; (d) time he may spend listening to radio or watching TV; (e) marking on walls and jumping on furniture; (f) quarreling with siblings; (g) fighting with other children.

8. Do you keep track of exactly where ______ is and what he is doing most of the time or do you let him watch out for himself quite a bit? How often do you check?

9. How often do you tell _____ that you're going to have to punish him and then for some reason you don't follow through? What kinds of things might keep you from following through? If he doesn't do something you ask him to do, perhaps not put his toys away, what do you do then?

10. Would you say that ______ has been a difficult child to raise? Does he tend to be strong-willed or is he easy to manage? Does he ever downright refuse to obey?

Maturity Demands

12. Does ______ have any regular chores to do? How is he about doing them?

    (If difficulty is mentioned) How do you go about getting him to do them?

13. Is ______ a child who likes to do things for himself or does he still like to be helped a good deal? Does he dress himself?

14. Does ______ like to visit with next-door neighbors without you? With whom does he play when he's not at nursery school?

15. Are there any adults ______ is especially fond of beside his mother?

    (Probe):
    (a) With whom and what kind of relationship?

Nurturance

16. What sorts of things do you most enjoy doing with ______?

17. Was ______ fun to take care of when he was a baby? Is he fun to be with now?

18. Do you enjoy holding ______ at times? Does he still sit on your lap at times or do you think he is becoming too big?

19. How much time does ______ spend with you? What do you do together? How much do you think ______ knows about what you do at work?

20. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about ______?

2. Parent Interview Scales

Control

1. Strictness: Care of family property

   5. Very strict. Very important for child to be careful about marking or jumping--all furniture, all parts of the house are to be treated carefully--child is not allowed to touch many things.

   1. Permissive. Child may jump on furniture, mark walls, put feet up.

2. Strictness: Neatness

   5. Very strict. Almost never permits mess.

   1. Permissive. Almost no restrictions. Almost no demands for restricting disorder.

3. Strictness: Responsibilities about orderliness

   5. Very strict. Child expected to put one toy away before taking out another.

   1. Permissive. Child has almost no responsibilities for maintaining order.

4. Strictness: Early bedtime (Subtract hours of naptime from the hour of bedtome.)

   5. Between 6 and 7.

   1. After 9:00, or varies at child's pleasure, but after 8:00.

5. Strictness: Bedtime behavior

   5. Very strict. No leeway. Child must be in bed by a certain time, no getting up for company.

   1. Permissive. No particular rules, child goes to bed when sleepy.

6. Strictness: Aggression toward other children

   5. Very strict. Parent always tries to stop or prevent fights.

   1. Permissive. Parent does not interfere, does not tell child that he should not fight, may consider it a natural part of growing up.

7. Strictness: Television
   (Refers to amount of time allowed and restrictions on choice of program.)

   5. Very strict. None watched, or programs allowed are entirely determined by parents.

   1. Permissive. TV used at child's own pleasure.

8. Deviation from parent's moral code

   5. Insists on rigid, absolutistic adherence to parent's moral code.

   1. Totally relativistic, unwilling to state, or devoid of, any stated moral values for child.

9. Demand for immediate or total obedience

   5. Very strict. Demands obedience. Punishment for deviation.

   1. Does not expect or desire strict obedience. May say he or she thinks one should not expect of a child this young, or that parent can be wrong too and does not have the right to ask child to snap to attention.

10. Negative sanctions: Corporal punishment
    (Refers to use of physical pain, mild or severe, as incentive or reinforcement.)

    5. Very frequent. Controls deviant behavior of child by use of painful physical punishment or threats thereof which are carried out often enough to carry import.

    1. Seldom if ever slaps or spanks, may say he doesn't believe in it.

11. Negative sanctions: Deprivation of privileges (such as desserts, TV, toys, having visitors)

    5. Very frequently controls deviant behavior by such deprivations.

    1. Seldom if ever uses deprivation of privileges as a disciplinary technique, and/or says explicitly she does not believe in it.

12. Negative sanctions: Withdrawal of love
    This scale measures the degree to which the parent tries to control the behavior of the child by use of sanctions which threaten the nurturant relationship between parent and child. Statements such as "You don't love me," "You're hurting mother's feelings," "I'm going to have to get another little boy," or "Nobody can love you when you act like that," are relevant cues.

    5. Frequent use of withdrawal of love.

    1. Avoids using this technique.

13. Negative sanctions: Isolation
    Isolation includes sending child to room, sending out of dining room when the rest of the family are at the table, etc., but does not include making child stand in corner or sit in chair if others are present.

    5. Frequent. Parent uses and approves of this technique.

    1. Avoids using this technique.

14. Negative sanctions: Use of ridicule
Ridicule is defined as those symbolic acts whose intent is to place the child in an undesirable category. Includes derogation, ego deflation, name-calling, most instances of teasing, and sarcasm.

    5. Frequent use of ridicule. Evidence that technique is considered effective or used frequently.

    1. Avoids using this technique.

15. Negative sanctions: Attempt to provoke a sense of guilt
Guilt is defined as a feeling of lessened personal worth or a sense of anxiety arising from a realization that one has violated ethical, moral, or religious principles.

    5. Frequent use of guilt-provoking techniques.

    1. Avoids using this technique.

16. Negative sanctions: Frightening the child by screaming, rage, or threats in order to obtain obedience or in order to punish.

    5. Frequent use of frightening techniques.

    1. Avoids using this technique.

17. Positive sanctions as incentive or reinforcer: Praise

    5. Parent regularly praises, admires, shows affection for good behavior.

    1. Almost never praises as a reward for good behavior.

18. Positive sanctions as incentive or reinforcer: Tangible reward

    5. Relies heavily on tangible rewards including desserts, money, to reinforce good behavior.

    1. Does not use reward for good behavior; may state a value judgment such as, "I don't want to bribe my child."

19. Parent's feeling of control over child:
Does parent feel that she can control child's behavior when a divergence exists? Disregard intensity of conflict or amount of divergence tolerated.

    5. Very great. Parent feels that he or she very readily succeeds in obtaining obedience from child in any specific matter.

    1. Almost never feels in control. Parent feels unable to cope with the child in the face of a divergence.

20. Parent's appraisal of his or her general influence on child

    5. Very great. Parent feels that he or she has strong influence and is a major factor in modifying child's behavior and personality.

    1. Parent feels that he or she has almost no influence or effect on the child's development, goals, etc., or that he does not wish to modify child's behavior or influence him at all.

21. Lacks internal conflict about disciplinary procedures.

    5. Very little if any conflict, sure of self, not concerned about possible harmful effects of disciplinary procedures or lack of them, not guilty about treatment of child.

    1. Very great. Parent unsure of self or guilty about own techniques in disciplining, distrusts own motivation, the effectiveness of procedures, or fears possible harmful effects on the child.

22. Consistency: Follow-through in discipline

    5. Parent almost never threatens punishment or states a directive without follow-through. Following through is cardinal principle.

    1. Parent very frequently threatens punishment or states a directive without following through.

23. Consistency: Child-rearing attitudes
    This scale indicates an overall estimate of the degree to which the parent's child-rearing attitudes are consistent from time to time. Refers to consistency with self, not with other parent. Consider such variables as attitudes toward aggression in a variety of situations, treatment of dependency, disciplinary policy, enforcement of regulations, etc.

    5. Almost always consistent. Attitudes toward child seem always expressed in the same way.

    1. Notably inconsistent. Very often says one thing and does another.

24. Consistency: A formulated ideology regarding child training procedures.

    5. Has clear ideological *or* religious position which gives unity to child training theory and practices.

    1. Lacks ideology. Operates on intuitive or feeling level, can give voice to almost no principles which affect her child training practices.

25. Control of verbal and/or physical aggression toward parent

    5. Child is punished for aggression toward parents; such aggression is not allowed.

    1. Parent allows child to hit or insult her almost at will with tacit approval of this form of self-expression; acts as if child has as much right to hit parent as parent does to hit child, or believes you can't stop child.

26. Directiveness: Restrictions on child's initiative
    (To what extent does parent seem to need to exert moment-by-moment control over child's actions?)

    5. Very directive. Controls what child does and how he does it

at every moment.

1. Completely non-directive, laissez-faire, unconcerned about much of what child does, completely willing to let him do things his own way.

27. Reasons given for restrictions such as they are: Parent's convenience, ease in running household

    5. Of paramount importance. Extremely important.

    1. Denied--as a reason.

28. Reason given for restrictions such as they are: Child's welfare

    5. Of paramount importance. Extremely important.

    1. Denied--as a reason.

29. Reason given for restrictions such as they are: Conformity with what is socially acceptable

    5. Of paramount importance. Extremely important.

    1. Denied--as a reason.

30. Reason given for restrictions such as they are: An absolutist moral imperative for religious or traditional reasons ("It is never right to talk back to one's parents.")

    5. Of paramount importance. Extremely important.

    1. Denied--as a reason.

31. Reason given for restrictions such as they are: An ethical standard which is a part of parent's personal morality.

    5. Of paramount importance. Extremely important.

    1. Denied--as a reason.

32. Maturity demands: household responsibilities
    (Consider amount of chores or jobs such as picking up, emptying waste baskets or ashtrays, helping set table, etc.)

    5. Very much expected of child. Expects two or three regular chores, "all part of the family," definite expectation of being responsible, working member of family.

    1. Almost nothing expected of child.

33. Maturity demands: Conscience

    5. Very much expected. Child old enough to acknowledge wrongdoing and feel guilt when parental standards have been violated.

    1. No expectancy of guilt or contrition, child too young.

34. Maturity demands: Permissiveness for exploration and experimentation
    (Extent to which child is allowed to do things he's interested in,

roam freely. Degree to which parent trusts him to take care of himself.)

5. Almost always permits child to try anything, even at much inconvenience to parent, allows child to explore and experiment freely.

1. Very restrictive. Parent does not allow anything likely to be time consuming or risky, attempts at experimentation usually interfered with, parent suspicious of anything new that child may try.

35. Maturity demands: Rewarding of self-sufficiency (Extent to which parent feels it is important that child learns to do things for himself, gives approval for such behavior and teaches self-help.)

5. Parent very pleased by signs of ability to help self, rewards such behavior by approval or other means, prods child to help self.

1. Parent doesn't consider such behavior important, is unaware of this sort of behavior, or discouages it.

36. Maturity demands: Does not reward dependency (Extent to which parent rewards child's dependent acts, complies with his demands, gives help when child solicits.)

5. Does not reward. Tells child to do it himself. Suggests some alternative behavior.

1. Generally rewards dependency. Tries always to comply with dependent demands. Will stop what she is doing.

37. Maturity demands: Intellectual achievement expected (Take into account the level of behavior the parent expects in relation to child's ability regardless of whether the child succeeds in meeting this level.)

5. Very high.

1. Very low.

38. Permission for independence: Encourages contact with other adults (Extent to which parent is willing to allow child to form attachments to adults other than herself such as nursery school teacher, a neighbor, a housekeeper.)

5. Encourages such attachments.

1. Actively discourages attachments to adults other than herself.

39. Permission for independence: As much as possible introduces child to new experiences

5. Very often introduces child to such experiences.

1. Almost never makes the effort to introduce child to novel experiences.

40 Communication: Attentiveness to child's efforts to communicate when it is child's turn to be heard.

5. Very attentive. Once parent agrees to listen to child he gives full and careful attention to child's efforts to communicate.

1. Very inattentive. Parent seldom if ever focuses completely on what child is saying; parent seldom if ever responds in such a way that the child feels that he has been fully heard.

41. Communication: Parent's willingness to express negative feelings to child about his conduct

5. Parent believes that it is important to show anger or disapproval openly to child

1. Parent strongly disapproves of expressing anger or disapproval openly to child.

42. Tolerance of verbal protest:
(When child gives reasons for disagreement without personal vindictiveness or defiance.)

5. Child is encouraged to dissent if he has reasons.

1. Protest not allowed; child is to do what parents say without protest.

43. Consults with child about formation of regulations

5. Always tries to consult with child, even when much inconvenience and some risk to the child's welfare are involved.

1. Does not consult with child or believe in doing so.

44. Use of reasoning:
Include explaining, describing consequences of actions, listening to child's arguments, and trying to give an answer on the merits of the case. Evidence would be remarks such as "He is old enough now so that he understands when I explain things to him."

5. Very frequent use of reasoning.

1. Almost never uses reasoning. Explicit evidence that it is not used: "It does not do any good to reason with him."

45. Individual character of child perceived:
(Accuracy and clarity with which child is perceived, degree to which parent can state similarities and differences between child and siblings, child and others. This question requires a judgment by the rater based on the parent's remarks.)

5. Parent very perceptive. Child is seen very much as a person in his own right.

1. Parent distorts, fails to perceive, stereotypes child's characteristics.

46. Warmth: Presence of a loving relationship
(Measure presence of warmth, rather than presence or absence of hostile feelings.)

5. Unusually warm and loving. Enjoys child's company, entertained by him, expresses pleasure in child's person, appearance, performance.

1. Relationship is cool, lacking in affection.

47. Warmth: Demonstrativeness

5. Unusually demonstrative. Hugs, kisses, calls endearing names very frequently.

1. Entirely undemonstrative.

48. Warmth: Approval

5. Unusually approving. Thinks child is wonderful, unusually praiseworthy, admires and respects child immensely.

1. Generally disapproving. Thinks little of child's ability or personal qualities.

49. Warmth: Absence of hostility
(This variable should be rated without regard to the presence of warmth. Note statements indicating resentment, annoyance, or dislike of child.)

5. Very little, if any, expressed. Almost no evidence of resentment, annoyance, or condemnation.

1. Unusually hostile. Obviously resents child, is annoyed by many aspects of his behavior, is disapproving.

50. Warmth: Empathy

5. Very empathic. Parent feels very close to child, has almost complete understanding of his feelings and view of the world, seems to be able to see things through the child's eyes.

1. Very distant, almost complete lack of empathic understanding, child seen as a very separate or different sort of creature.

51. Warmth: Sympathy

5. Very sympathetic. Feels deeply for child if he is ill, physically hurt, or rebuffed, and expresses these feelings to child.

1. Very unsympathetic. Irritated at child when he is ill or in need of nurturance.

52. Conscientiousness: Keeping track of the child

5. Very aware of child's whereabouts. Whereabouts of child constantly on her mind. Keeps track of child. Child must be in sight or earshot or whereabouts known at all times.

1. Unconcerned about child's whereabouts. Practically never checks. Lets child take care of self, does not worry when child is out of sight or earshot or exact whereabouts of child are not known.

53. Conscientiousness: Willingness to sacrifice own needs to those of children
(Do not include the child's whims or fancies. Do not include conflicts of interest of subject's needs with those of other children or spouse.)

5. Almost always considers child's needs first. Parent states that he or she is always available if needed by child. Plans outings, arranges matters so that child is pleasantly occupied, brings him to special classes, cooks food he likes, even at considerable inconvenience to self.

1. Parent's interests and needs come first.

54. Conscientiousness: Acceptance of responsibility for child's future development and present welfare

5. Accepts full responsibility. Feels that child's welfare and future success if a major responsibility of its parents and that it is their job to guide child at all times; assure future success.

1. Markedly casual and nonchalant about child, at times neglects child. Says that what will be will be, and that child has to take care of himself.

APPENDIX E

ADJUSTMENT INTERVIEW

1. Adjustment Interview Schedule
2. Adjustment Interview Scales

1. Adjustment Interview Schedule

Identifying Information

1. Age and education of parent ______________________

2. Marital status of parent ______________________

3. Age at marriage. How many years was she married ____________

4. How long has she been a lone parent ______________________

Children

5. Age, sex and school status of children living with parent ________

____

6. Are there other children who are living away from home (with absent parent, with relatives, etc.)? ______________________

7. Were there periods when child(ren) were separated from parent? What were the circumstances? ______________________

____

How did the children respond to the separation? ____________

____

Current Living Arrangements

8. Type of accommodation (house, apartment, owned, rented, public housing, etc.) ______________________

9. Has type or quality of accommodation changed since becoming a single parent? ______________________

If so, what was previous type of accommodation? ____________

Family Income

10. From which of the following does parent obtain income:

Earnings from employment ☐
Mother's allowance or welfare assistance ☐
Support payments from spouse ☐
An inherited estate ☐
Another source (please specify) ☐

11. Is parent employed full-time ☐
part-time ☐
Unemployed ☐
Other (please specify) ☐

12. If employed, what kind of work does she do?____________________

13. Experience since becoming a single parent. Were reasons for working, not working, or job change related to single parent status?

____

Use of Community Resources

14. With which of the following services has family had contact? What was the family's experience regarding the accessibility, adequacy and helpfulness of service? Was the family satisfied? Has parent wanted to use a particular service but been reluctant to apply? What changes are needed to make services better?

a. Family court ☐
b. Public Welfare ☐
c. Manpower--training, placement ☐
d. Public housing ☐
e. Health services, clinics, etc. ☐
f. Day care services ☐
g. Homemaker services ☐
h. Child welfare services, including foster home care and children's institutions ☐
i. Counselling services--family service agencies ☐
j. Psychiatric services ☐
k. One-Parent groups ☐
l. Other ☐

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Community Attitudes Toward One-Parent Families

15. What is parent's perception of community attitudes? Can she cite examples?____

____

16. Has parent experienced discrimination in obtaining housing, credit or in work situations?__________________________________

17. Have children experienced difficulties? (At school or with neighbors)____

____

18. How does parent handle community attitudes?______________________

____

Contact with Former Spouse

19. What are the nature of the contacts? Frequency?____________________

____

20. Parent's present feelings toward former spouse?_____________________

____

21. What is the nature of the relationship between the children and the absent parent? Is parent satisfied with this?__________________

____

Difficulties in Adjustment to Lone Parent Status

22. Parent's experience in adjustment. (Were there feelings of loneliness or isolation? How long did these feelings persist?)______

____

____

____

23. Did children experience difficulties? How did parent handle them?

____

____

24. Did parent have help in problems of adjustment? Would she have wanted help?

Contacts with Relatives

25. Are relationships close? Contacts frequent?

26. What is depth of relatives' helpfulness? Would parent want more?

Social Life

27. Has social life changed since becoming a single parent?

28. What is the marital status of friends?

29. How does parent meet friends?

30. Is parent satisfied with this?

31. How many times has parent been out socially in the last two weeks?

32. (If answer to 31 is very seldom) Are you kept in by lack of money or by the lack of somewhere to go or someone to go with?

33. Is the children's social life affected by being part of a one-parent family? How?

34. (If free to marry) Would you like to marry again? Why?

Practical Problems

35. Which of the following does parent consider, or has considered, significant problems because you are a single parent? Explain for each.

a. insufficient income ☐
b. child discipline ☐
c. obtaining employment ☐
d. care for the children when she wants to go out ☐
e. medical problems (health) ☐
f. dental problems ☐
g. housing ☐
h. legal problems ☐
i. sexual problems ☐
j. time ☐
k. energy ☐
l. other ☐

Which of the above would parent rate in importance as:

1st ___
2nd ___
3rd ___

Goals and Aspirations

36. What are parent's immediate and long-term goals and aspirations? (Further education or training, employment, etc.) ___

37. Does parent have a plan for achieving her goals?______________

38. In what way, if any, would parent change her present situation if she could?______________

39. Does she see any possibility of making these changes?______________

40. Have her feelings about herself changed since she has been living without a husband? How?______________

41. Does parent sometimes feel that the emotional (and other) demands of her children are too much for her to meet alone?______________

42. If parent sometimes feels a need for emotional support from others, how does she obtain such support?______________

43. Is there anything else that the parent feels is an important part of her experience as a single parent that has not been included in this questionnaire?

Interviewer's Comments

1. Does this person appear comfortable and confident with interviewer?

2. Does she seek much support ant reassurance from interviewer?

3. Does she deprecate her work products, activities or homemaking?

2. Adjustment Interview Scales

1. Social contact
   5. Very sociable and satisfied. Has a number of social friends and sees them several times per week. Goes out two or more times per week. No desire for more social contact.
   1. Isolated. Has few friends and sees friends less than once per week. Often feels lonely; desires greater social contact.
2. Attitude toward men
   5. Positive attitude. Has male friends; enjoys these relationships. Not resentful toward former spouse; contacts with him (if any) are comfortable. Would consider remarriage.
   1. Hostile attitude. Does not trust men; few male contacts. Resentful toward former spouse; blames him for some aspect of present situation; contacts with him extremely uncomfortable. Would not consider remarriage.
3. Practical adjustment
   5. Little difficulty. Financial situation comfortable; little trouble finding employment or desired housing. Has time and energy to attend to children and household tasks.
   1. Great difficulty. Difficult to meet family's needs with present income; difficulty finding employment and/or housing. Often tired; little time for children and household tasks. Unable to get many tasks done that were previously done by former spouse.
4. Perception of child's adjustment
   5. No difficulty. Perceives that child is adjusting well to father's absence.
   1. Great difficulty. Believes that child misses many experiences because father is absent. Anticipates future problems of a social or sexual nature.
5. Self-esteem
   5. Good. Perceives self as highly competent in present situation; able to meet needs of children and self.
   1. Poor. Lacks confidence in self to meet needs of self and children. Great need for support from others. Little satisfaction with present situation.

APPENDIX F

DATA

1. Child Behavior Ratings
2. HVSA Scores
3. Adjustment Scores
4. California Psychological Inventory Class and Class II Scales:
    - Pattern Comparisons and Mann-Whitney U-Values
    - Pattern Profiles Compared with Female Norms

Table F-1. Child Behavior Ratings

Subjects	Behavior Dimension				
	Self-Control	Approach	Self-Reliance	Peer Affiliation	Mood
Pattern A					
1	H	H	H	H	H
2	H		H	H	H
3	H	H	H	H	H
4		H	H	H	H
5	H		H	H	H
6	H		H	H	H
7		H	H	H	H
8	H	H	H	H	H
9		H	H	H	H
10	H		H	H	H
Pattern B					
11		L		L	L
12	L	L	L	L	
13	L	L		L	
14		L	L	L	L
15	L	L	L	L	
16	H	L	L		L
17	L	L	L	L	L
18	L	L	H	L	L
19	H	L	L		L
20	L	L	L		

Note: H = High rating
L = Low rating

Table F-2. Scores for the Parent-Child Interaction Variables from the Home Visit Sequence Analysis

	Variables								
Subjects	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i
A. 1	15	46	0	100	100	77	100	39	24
2	20	65	100	100	100	97	100	55	100
3	43	55	100	97	100	97	94	65	67
4	8	76	50	90	90	92	74	27	24
5	10	38	10	76	92	78	68	22	30
6	22	53	10	96	93	67	65	28	25
7	10	71	0	90	82	91	67	30	20
8	7	100	27	67	100	68	80	31	75
9	8	65	38	97	92	70	80	40	56
10	10	56	83	93	95	97	90	50	70
B. 11	12	50	5	27	--	44	68	19.5	31.5
12	4	76	29	61	70	63	80	16	29
13	6	37	0	79.5	59	94	87	30	28.5
14	20	37	0	45	43	95	80	17.5	20
15	3	32	18	40.5	20	61	70	8	44
16	0	73	0	60	70	77.5	74	25	29
17	11	22	11	44	--	70	80	22.5	20
18	11	57	0	74	35	96	74	14	18
19	4	28	0	70	18	91	85	30	8
20	5	53	0	47	46	68	87.5	26	29

Table F-3. Scores for the Adjustment Interview Scales

Subjects	Self-Esteem	Social Contact	Practical Adjustment	Perception of Child's Adjustment	Attitude Toward Men
A. 1	5	5	2	5	5
2	5	5	4	5	5
3	4	5	2	4	4
4	4	5	3	5	5
5	4	4	3	4	5
6	4	4	2	4	4
7	2	4	2	4	2
8	4	4	4	4	4
9	4	4	3	5	4
10	4	4	2	4	4
B. 11	2	5	3	5	4
12	3	1	2	2	2
13	4	3	3	2	2
14	3	3	3	3	3
15	2	3	2	1	3
16	3	1	1	3	2
17	3	4	3	3	4
18	2	2	2	4	4
19	1	2	1	1	3
20	1	3	1	2	1

Scale: 5=high extreme
1=low extreme

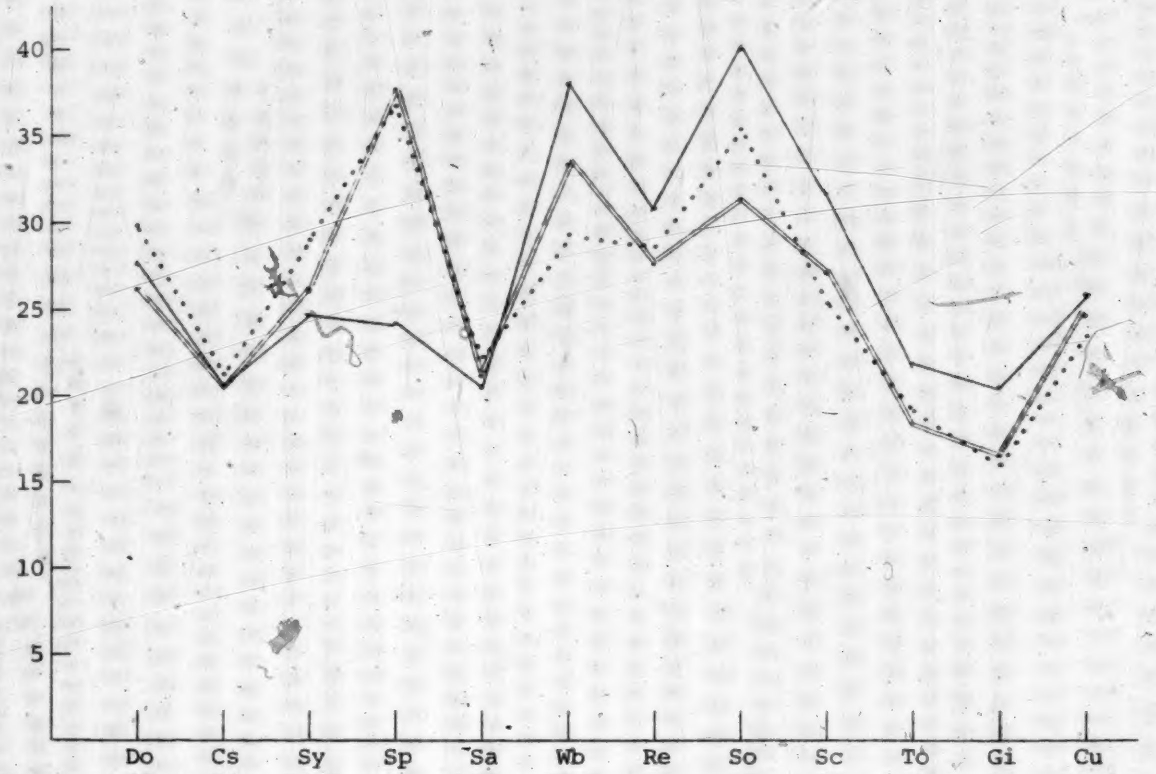
Table F-4. California Psychological Inventory Class I and Class II Scales:

Pattern Comparisons and Mann-Whitney U-Values

Scale	Pattern, Mean and Standard Deviation				Mann-Whitney Test
	A(N=9)		B(N=8)		
	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	U^a
Class I					
Dominance (Do)	29.9	5.46	26.5	4.84	20
Capacity for Status (Cs)	21.0	2.69	19.8	3.24	29
Sociability (Sy)	27.7	2.55	26.1	4.22	30
Social Presence (Sp)	36.4	2.35	37.4	4.9	31
Self-Acceptance (Sa)	22.0	2.60	20.4	4.5	29
Sense of Well-being (Wb)	30.0	4.00	34.3	4.71	17
Class II					
Responsibility (Re)	28.9	3.10	28.4	3.62	35
Socialization (So)	34.8	3.99	32.6	5.34	29
Self-control (Sc)	25.4	8.17	27.4	9.30	31
Tolerance (To)	20.6	2.96	19.5	6.28	33
Good Impression (Gi)	16.9	5.80	17.4	5.70	33
Communality (Cu)	24.4	1.51	24.9	2.03	33

[a] No significant differences were found for a two-tailed Mann-Whitney Test; critical U value at .05 level=15; $n_1=8$, $n_2=9$.

Figure F-4. California Psychological Inventory Class I and II Scales: Pattern Profiles Compared with Female Norms



Note: Female Norms = 27 20 24.5 24 20 37.5 32 39 32 22 20 25.8

Mothers of Pattern A Children: ....

Mothers of Pattern B Children: ═══════

Female Norms: ───────